



RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY

From the Painting by H. P. Briggs, R.A., in the Bristol Art Gallery.

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WHY INDIA REJECTED THE "REFORMS" OF 1919 (DYARCHY)

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

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SOON after the close of the Great War in Europe, the British gave to India a "Government Reform Scheme" (called "Dyarchy"), which was proclaimed to the world as a great boon to the Indian people, as something which advanced them far on the road toward freedom and self-rule, and withal, as something which showed the great generosity of the British toward India, and their constant solicitude for her welfare and progress.

Did the Indian people receive the Scheme as a great boon, and were they profoundly thankful for it, as Britain declared they ought to be? No, and for reasons which they thought were of the weightiest possible character.

Of course, *in a sense* they *accepted* the Dyarchy plan, they had to, it was forced upon them without their consent. A few thought that it was perhaps better than nothing, and so they said: "Let us make the most of it until we can get something more satisfactory." But it is not an overstatement to affirm that all India was deeply disappointed and hurt by it. Absolutely all parties, the most moderate and conservative as well as the most advanced, united in declaring that it was not what they desired or

expected or deserved, and that it was not worthy of England.

Why were practically all the important leaders of India disappointed, grieved and pained? The reason which immediately presented itself and which would not down, was: The Scheme seemed to them little or nothing but a "smoke-screen" to hide Britain's real mind and purpose. With the most careful and eager examination of it that they could make, they were unable to discover in it even the slightest evidence that their British masters intended to give them real freedom or real self rule then or ever. It made a great show, a great pretense of advancing them far on the road to full attainment of both. But as a matter of fact, it gave them no advancement and no new freedom that amounted to anything; and it really promised nothing. All it did was to grant them a few new offices (some of them it is true with quite flattering salaries) and some new or enlarged legislatures, both national and provincial, in which they might talk and talk, discuss and discuss, and even vote and vote but only upon such questions and subjects as the British graciously permitted them to vote or speak upon: in no case were they granted any *real power*: they were allowed

to control nothing ; "(Mock Parliaments" was the name given to the legislatures by an eminent Englishman). The real objects of the scheme seemed to be two, namely, to quiet the growing unrest of the Indian people by making them think they were getting something important (when they were not), and to produce a favourable impression upon the public opinion of the world by spreading the idea that the British were generous to India and were leading her as fast as seemed wise toward her desired goal of freedom and self-rule.

It is important to know the facts connected with the origin of the Reform Scheme.

When the great war of 1914 broke out in Europe, England found herself in a serious plight. In order to do her part in withstanding the German attack on France, she was compelled to send for almost her entire Indian army, which was the first foreign contingent to arrive on the field of conflict, and without whose invaluable help the German advance could not have been checked and Paris would undoubtedly have fallen.

This sudden withdrawal from India of the military forces which were maintained there to hold her in subjection, naturally suggested to the Indian people that now was a favorable time to throw off the foreign yoke which was so galling to them, and to gain their freedom and independence. And why not? Would any other nation in the world, held in bondage for more than a century and a half, have refrained from taking advantage of such an opportunity?

It is easy to see how great, how tremendous, was the temptation. How did the Indian people meet it? Did they say: "Now is the auspicious time; let us rise and be free?" On the contrary, the vast majority of them said: "England is in sore distress; she is fighting virtually for life. To take advantage of her helplessness, to strike her when she is down, would be dishonorable, cowardly. We shall not do it. Although she has robbed us of our nationhood, we will not turn on her in her time of peril. Until her danger is past, we will stand by her, we will be loyal—nay, we will even help her in her struggle." And they did. With insignificant exceptions they were absolutely loyal throughout the war. Largely they laid aside for the time being the political agitation for freedom which they had been carrying on for many

years. India rendered to Great Britain great and invaluable aid both in men and money. It was amazing. It was almost incredible that a subject people longing for freedom should take such a course. It was unselfish, chivalrous, noble beyond words. I am not able to recall in all history a national act, a national course of conduct, so magnanimous or so noble.

The Indian people believed and I think all the world believed, that when the war was over and England was safe, she would show appreciation of their marvellous loyalty and magnanimity, by treating them far better than she had done in the past, by righting their wrongs and, if not by granting them at once full and complete home-rule like that of Canada, which was India's desire, at least by setting them far on the way toward it, and by giving them a definite promise of its complete realization in the very near future.

Did England do this? No! Unbelievable as it seems, instead of meeting the magnanimity of the Indian people with a like magnanimity, instead of showing appreciation of their astonishing loyalty and their invaluable aid in her time of distress, instead of being even just to them, she proceeded to treat them with a degree of suspicion, oppression and cruelty beyond anything in the past, culminating in the Panjab atrocities and the infamous Rowlatt Act, which virtually deprived India of even the protection of civil law. Of course, this was a terrible shock to the Indian people. It was a disappointment about as great as it is possible for any nation to experience.

But did Great Britain offer to the Indian people no return of any kind for what they had done? Yes, she offered them this so-called "Reform Scheme" (or Dyarchy) for government. This and only this was England's reward for India's amazing service and devotion.

Let us examine the Scheme a little more fully, so as to see exactly what were some of the more important reasons for India's dissatisfaction with it.

(I) The first disappointment, injustice, hardly less than insult, that India saw in the scheme, was Britain's spirit of high-handedness and arrogance, in claiming for herself all rights in the matter, and allowing India none; in setting out from the first to make the Scheme not what the Indian people had a right to and

wanted, or what would have been just and acceptable to all parties concerned; but solely what she (Britain) wanted, and then thrusting it upon India.

The Scheme, to have been just, to have been anything that India could honorably accept, should have been mutual, something framed by India and Great Britain together, each recognising the other's rights. But it was nothing of the kind. It was something designed to be a compact between two parties, but framed by one party alone and imposed upon the other. There was nothing mutual about it. It was a dictation; it was a command; it was the voice of a master to slaves. Britain, standing above, handed it down to the Indian people below. They must receive it on their knees. She owned India. She would manage it as she chose. She owned the Indian people. They must obey her.

Is it any wonder that a scheme framed and offered in such a spirit and with such aims, was not welcome to the Indian people? Is it any wonder that they found in it nothing to right their wrongs, nothing to set their feet upon a path leading to self-government?

Let me not be misunderstood when I speak of the Scheme as formed by Great Britain alone. I am quite aware that Mr. Montagu, the British Secretary of State for India, before formulating his plan went to India and consulted—candidly and honestly, I have no doubt—the various interested parties there;—on the one hand, the Indian leaders and on the other, the British rulers. That was fair so far as it went, but what a little way it went! What followed was that Mr. Montagu and other representatives of Great Britain proceeded themselves alone to draw up a plan for India's government, without associating with themselves in this great and serious task any representatives chosen by India; that is, without giving India any real part or power in the matter. That was unfair; that was dishonorable. Such a one-sided body of men could not possibly produce a scheme that would be just to India or that India could accept. What ought to have been done was the creation of a Joint Commission with an equal number of British and Indian members, the Indian members being elected by the Indian people and therefore empowered really to represent them; and this Joint Commission should have been instructed to draw

up, and should have drawn up, such a scheme as seemed just and wise in their united judgment. That would have been fair both to England and India. And to a scheme thus created, the Indian people would gladly have given their assent.

(2) The second thing to be said about this so-called Reform Scheme is that, in its very nature, it was self-contradictory, and therefore impossible.

The Scheme was given the very unusual name of "Dyarchy," which properly means the joint rule of two monarchs, as William and Mary in England. But in the present case it was supposed to signify the joint rule of the British and the Indians through an arrangement by which some matters connected with the Government were "transferred" or committed (under severe limitations) to Indian management, while others were "reserved" or kept wholly under British control. Exactly described, it was a plan which put side by side two radically different, two antagonistic forms of government; one, self-rule, the other, arbitrary rule from the outside; one, democracy, the other, absolute autocracy or absolute monarchy (in the form of an alien bureaucracy); and expected them to work in harmony. It was an attempt to mix oil and water; or to ride two horses going in opposite directions. Abraham Lincoln said: "A nation cannot endure half free and half slave." The British ought to have known that neither can a nation be successfully ruled by means of governmental machinery, half formed for ends of freedom and half for ends of oppression. That is exactly what this scheme was and is.

What Great Britain ought to have done, instead of concocting such an impossible, misshapen, mongrel plan, is clear. She should have listened to India's just demands, and given her a government framed distinctly and honestly for ends of self-rule; a government responsible, at least in all home matters, to the Indian people; a real democracy essentially like that of Canada or South Africa, but of course adapted to the special needs and conditions of India. That would have been sane. It would have been straightforward and honest. It would have been practicable and to the infinite advantage of all concerned. On the one hand, it would have made India content, and on the other, it would have removed all cause for anxiety or alarm on the part of Great Britain. It would have resulted in India's becoming

as loyal a part of the Empire (or Commonwealth) as South Africa or Canada or Australia. That the very opposite state of things now exists, is the result of Britain's blind and arbitrary refusal to give to the Indian people what they so earnestly asked for, and what was their right; and thrusting on them, instead, this impossible, self-contradictory, vicious plan of "Dyarchy."

(3) A fundamental defect of the Reform Scheme or Dyarchy was the startling fact that it contained no Bill of Rights, no constitutional guaranty of any kind securing the Indian people against possible future injustices and tyrannies on the part of the Government. In view of the many wrongs that they had suffered in the past, this defect was fatal, something which alone, as they believed, was sufficient reason for rejecting the Scheme. They realized that without a bill of rights, or a constitutional guaranty of justice, they could not have sure protection, they would be at the mercy of their foreign rulers, liable at any time to have wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon them as great as any they had ever suffered. The British at home, in England, would on no consideration give up the protection which for hundreds of years they have received from their *Magna Charta*, which has shielded them by its great words: "No freeman shall be arrested or detained in prison... or in any way molested... unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land."

We Americans could not possibly be induced to surrender the guaranteed protection which we possess in our Declaration of Independence, and especially in our National Constitution, which declares:

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated."

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

"No State or province within the nation shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Such charters of rights, such guarantees of protection, are regarded by Englishmen, by Americans, and by all other free peoples, as absolutely indispensable in their own

cases. Why did not Great Britain grant such protection to India?

What are the facts bearing on the case? They are startling enough. Within the last few years reports have come from the most trustworthy sources, of brutalities committed by British officials against the Indian people, which have shocked the world—houses searched without proper warrant; men seized and imprisoned without trial; men and women peacefully working in the field bombed from the sky; all the inhabitants in a certain street in a city forbidden to go along the street even to get water or buy food except by their crawling on their hands and knees; a great peaceful gathering assembled in a public garden on a religious festival day, fired on without warning, by troops, and the firing continued until the ammunition of the soldiers was exhausted, and 379 dead and 1,200 wounded men, women and children lay heaped on the bloody ground;* prisoners confined in a luggage van without ventilation, and in spite of their frantic cries for air kept there until more than 70 were dead; and many other brutalities and crimes almost as shocking. * * * *

If the new Government Scheme for India was to be of any value at all, ought it not to have guaranteed the people against such outrages in the future? Yet incredible, almost monstrous, as the fact seems, it did not.

The fact alone that the military forces of the country and the police were both wholly under British control—neither being responsible in any degree to the Indian people—made the recurrence of injustices and atrocities as bad as any of these, possible at any future time. The Scheme gave no guaranty whatever against the coming at any time of other Governor O'Dwyers, and General Dyers, and Jalianwala Baghs, and Moplah suffocations, and the rest. It

* The Hunter Committee appointed to investigate the Punjab atrocities reported the number killed in the Amritsar (Jalianwala Bagh) massacre as 379, and the number wounded as about three times as many. These numbers, however, are very much the lowest given by any authority. The Investigation Commission appointed by the authorities of the Indian National Congress, whose researches were far more thorough, reported that they found unimpeachable evidence that the number shot to death was approximately 1,200 and the number wounded approximately 3,600.

provided protection for the British rulers of the land, but for nobody else. It did not guarantee to the Indian people public protection, or military protection, or civil protection; it did not insure to them freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of trial in open court; or the privilege of *habeas corpus* or any other of the essential rights and privileges which are the foundations and indispensable guarantees of liberty, justice and law. Is it any wonder that India rejected the Scheme? Is it not amazing that any nation calling itself civilized and Christian, in this age of the world, could have proposed such a Scheme?

(4) In the so-called "Reform Plan" offered to India in 1919, the British kept in their own hands not only all other kinds of power, but also all real legislative power. India was allowed no effective voice whatever in legislation. This statement applies to legislation in the Provinces, and it applies still more fully and seriously to national legislation. It is true that the Scheme gave to India both national legislative bodies and provincial legislative bodies, which looked like real parliaments, endowed with power to enact real laws. But on looking deeper, it was soon seen that this appearance was deceptive. They were not real parliaments or real legislatures at all as these words are understood in Europe and America. They were all under external control. Whatever they did could be overthrown.

In the national government, the Reform Scheme allowed Indians to hold a few more places than they formerly did. For example, in the National Legislative Assembly there were an increased number of Indians, enough to guard India's rights if they had possessed any real power. But they did not. As has been said, they were allowed to vote on some things, but not on all; on some they were not permitted even to speak. Matters were so arranged that in no case could they disturb the plans of the Government. Whatever legislation the British rulers desired, they enacted, whether the Indians favored it or not.

In the Provinces, the situation was similar. Each Provincial Legislative Assembly contained a majority of Indians, but here again they could legislate only upon such matters as the British rulers permitted; and even regarding these they had no final power; whatever laws they enacted could be overthrown by the Governor in Council, or by

the Governor-General in Council, or both. Even if a legislature voted unanimously for a measure, the Government might disallow it.

Is it said that even in democratic America the enactments of State Legislatures may be vetoed by Governors, and those of the National Congress, by Presidents? Yes, but these vetoes are not final. An American State Legislature can pass anything it desires over the Governor's veto, and the American National Congress can pass anything it pleases over the veto of the President. In India nothing of this kind is possible. There, all final legislative authority, all real legislative power, whether national or provincial, is in the hands of the executive. Notwithstanding the increased number of so-called legislators under the new Government Scheme, the British are still, just as before, the supreme, and really the sole, law-makers.

Of course, the fact that the dyarchal plan granted to members of legislatures considerable liberty of discussion, was not without value. It gave to the British overlords a better knowledge than they would otherwise have had of the feelings and wants of the people, and thus to some extent it may have influenced legislation for the better. And yet, one cannot help wondering how much. A prominent member of the British Indian Government said to an American: "Oh yes! we listen to these Indian fellows, these natives, in our legislatures—to their talk, their discussions, their pleas for this and that, their demands for what they call their 'rights' for 'home-rule' and the rest—we listen to them, they like it, and then—we do as we damned please!"

This is a cynical declaration; but it describes exactly the amount of power possessed by the people of India under Dyarchy as regards enacting legislation on all subjects of highest importance, and in shaping all the really vital affairs of their own nation.*

* It may be claimed that the Dyarchal Scheme placed some vital matters, for example, education and public sanitation in the hands of Indians, and hence, if any failures were found there the responsibility was with them. The claim is superficial. The truth is the public revenue of the nation remained under dyarchy where it had always been, in the sole control of the British, who always use first of all as much of it as they want for their own military and imperialistic purposes and for other British interests

The fact is, the Government of India continued just as autocratic and absolute after the introduction of the new plan of things as it was before. The power of "Certification" given to the Viceroy made him virtually an absolute monarch, and placed all the Indian legislatures and all India virtually under his feet. It enabled him to defeat any legislation that he did not like by "certifying" that it was against the safety or interests of India (meaning the British Empire), and to enact any law desired by him by "certifying" that it was necessary for the interests or safety of India (the British Empire). As for the apparent check placed upon his certifications by the provision that they must lie two months before the British Parliament, before becoming operative, everybody knew from the beginning that that was meant only as a form.

The helplessness of the Indian legislatures under Dyarchy has been described in emphatic words by an eminent Englishman. In the winter of 1925-26, Dr. V. H. Rutherford, a member of Parliament and a prominent leader in the Labour Party, made an extended visit to India for the purpose of examining on the ground the working of the "Reforms."

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, in its issue of February 2nd, 1926, published an interview with Dr. Rutherford, who is reported to have said :

* * *

"At Madras, Lahore and elsewhere in the Provinces, I have seen in action the Legislative Councils and Assemblies created by the Reform Scheme. My disappointment on account of the feeble powers which Great Britain has conferred upon them is boundless, as also is my indignation. My greatest disappointment and indignation, however, have been reserved for Delhi, the Capital, and the National Government there. The National Legislature is supposed to be the crowning piece of the anatomy of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms ; and on close inspection I have found it to be a mere make-believe, a mere pretense, mockery, a legislative body in name but without power to form a government, or to displace a government in which it has no confidence ; without power to appoint or dismiss ministers ; without power of purse ; without power to shift

(paying the high salaries and pensions of British officials, etc.), and Indian interests, however vital, whether education and sanitation or others, have to put up with what they can get from the small remainder. This is the prime reason why education makes so little progress and public sanitation and hygiene are so neglected.

a nail or screw in the "steel frame" of bureaucratic control set up by the British ; without the least shred or iota of control over the Viceroy, who can defy and damn at his pleasure all the representatives of the people, and who has, in fact, defied them again and again, 'certifying' the Finance Bill over their heads, locking up thousands of them in prison in disregard of all law, and doing whatever else he liked. Never in the history of the world was such a hoax perpetrated upon a great people as England perpetrated upon India, when in return for India's invaluable service during the war, she gave to the Indian nation such a discreditable, disgraceful, undemocratic, tyrannical constitution. No political party in Great Britain would tolerate these iniquitous semblances of parliamentary institutions for a single week."

Let it be borne in mind that these strong words were not spoken by an Indian, but by a Member of the British Parliament. In the light of such statements coming from such a source, is it any wonder that India indignantly rejects the so-called "boon" of Dyarchy, as worthless and worse than worthless, and demands instead something incomparably better ?

(5) A very prominent and evil feature of the Dyarchy Scheme which should not go unmentioned, is the fact that its whole spirit was one of negations, negations. From first to last, its constant aim was to forbid, to forbid. Its most outstanding characteristic was its careful, specific and multiplied specifications and descriptions of privileges, rights, liberties and powers which the Indian people *were not permitted to have*. At every point where the Indian people came upon anything of first class importance, anything that would give any real power to India, there at once they were met with "reservations," "reservations." And the reservations were always in the interest of England, never of India. Even the "transferred" subjects "had strings to them." The great thing that the scheme constantly guarded against, was not India's danger, the danger that India might fail to get her rights, but the imagined danger that at some point or other England might suffer some loss of prestige, or privilege, or power. The scheme gave no evidence of being something prompted in any degree by a desire to right India's age-long and terrible wrongs ; indeed, it contained no real recognition of the existence, then or in the past, of any such wrongs. Everything in it and about it showed that it was simply an effort on the part of Great Britain to *retain her grip on India at a trying time*. The scheme was an unintentional but clear acknowledgment

that a great new spirit of freedom and independence had come into the world, and that India was feeling it mightily. This *alarmed England*. She saw that the Indian people were thinking, were rising from their knees to their feet, were becoming indignant at being held in subjection, were feeling humiliated and outraged beyond measure by the fact that they, who for so many centuries had been a great nation among the nations of the world, were now not thought of as nation at all, but were regarded as a mere appendage, a mere possession of a nation six or seven thousand miles away.

It was distinctly with this in view, and because of this, that the new Government Scheme was offered to India. The Scheme was England's attempt to counteract all this, to quiet the unrest of the Indian people, to allay their humiliation, to soothe their wounded pride, to administer to them an opiate, to induce them to lay aside their dangerous ambition and be willing to continue loyal still to Great Britain, by offering them something which they were told was a great boon, something which England assured them meant increasing freedom, more and more privileges, more and more participation in the Government, an advance, with more and more advances to follow, on the road leading toward self-rule.

But alas ! these promises, when examined, when really looked into, when probed to the bottom, when tested, were seen to mean nothing of value to India. Their real purpose was not at all India's advancement, but her pacification, and England's security. They offered India no boon whatever. They merely promised her a pot of gold at the end of a rainbow.

(6) This brings me to a final indictment which remains to be made against Great Britain's new Government Scheme for India. The Scheme fixed no time. It left everything uncertain. Whatever promises it made, or was supposed to make, of new rights or privileges, or of advances toward self-rule, were only to be fulfilled "some time," in an unknown future, and at the option of the British rulers.

This was fatal. It made the promises absolutely worthless. It is well-understood in law that if I give a man a note promising to pay him a sum of money, but without mentioning any time, my note is of no value. Nobody can collect anything on it. Or if I make my note payable at such a time in

the future as I may then elect, still it is valueless. My promise to pay must state when the payment is due, in order to be of any worth. It is exactly the same with the supposed promise made in this Reform Scheme of future self-government to India. There was no date fixed. The fulfilment could be put off and put off until the end of time. It was no promise at all.

The fact is not to be escaped, that Great Britain did not in her so-called Reform Scheme, pledge to the Indian people anything whatever except that if they would cease their (to her) disagreeable agitations for reforms, freedom, self-government, and be dumb and docile, and do what she commanded (like good children, or rather, like slaves) and caused her no trouble, she would be kind and motherly to them, and at such time or times in the future as, in her superior wisdom, she might see fit, she might perhaps condescend graciously to grant them such limited new liberties as she might then consider safe, and such gradual advances towards some very far-off goal of self-government (Dominion status or some other) as she might then deem it best for them to receive.

To put the case in a word, this Scheme which has been heralded abroad and praised as offering so much to India, and as setting her feet securely on the road to self-rule, particularly to Dominion status like that of Canada, as a matter of fact *gave her no assurance of being granted such a status, or any form of self-determination in a thousand years.*

Can a great nation, with a proud history of three or four milleniums, be satisfied with such mockery? Said the great and honored American, Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Said the great and honored Indian, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, "I want to be free, or "I do not want to be at all."

In conclusion what are the lessons that Great Britain should learn from India's rejection of Dyarchy? There are two which are clear as the light, if she will open her eyes to them.

One is that India refuses longer to accept stones for bread. She is fast waking up. All her leaders are awake now, and her people are fast following. She sees the world becoming free ; she sees Asia becoming free. Under such conditions she can no more be held in bondage than the rising tide of the ocean can be stayed.

The other leason is that if Britain persists in further treatment of India in the high-handed spirit of the dyarchy Scheme, if she attempts to force upon the Indian people another constitution as autocratic, as tyrannical, as defiant of their wishes and rights as the dyarchy Scheme was, she must be prepared for disaster,—the result certainly will be, acute, growing and probably permanent bitterness and resentment toward Britain on the part of India, and alienation between the two nations so deep that it probably cannot be healed. Why does not Great Britain recognize all this?

Indeed, why was she not wise enough, brave enough, and noble enough at the close of the Great War in Europe, even if not earlier than that, to extend to India the same warm, strong hand of friendship, confidence, trust, comradeship, co-operation and real partnership in the Empire, which at the end of the Boer War she extended to South Africa? That would have saved everything in India, as it did in South Africa.

Will she do it yet? Will she do it before it is too late?

A SONG OF FIDELITY

By SAROJINI NAIDU

I

Love o'er the rose-white alleys
That flower in dim desert sands,
Love thro' the rose-red valleys
That burgeon in soft south lands,
In cities agleam with pleasure
On the edge of a foam-kiss'd clime,
Or mountains whose still caves treasure
The temples of moon-crowned time,
On errands of joy of duty.
Wherever the ways, you tread,
A carpet of ageless beauty,
Is my heart for your feet out-spread.

II

Love whether Life betray you
And the malice of black-winged Fate
Strive in blind wrath to slay you
With talons of fear and hate,
Or whether yours the story
Of triumph and loneliest fame,
And the stars inscribe your glory
In lyric and legend of flame.,

By the chance winds that break or bless you
Unchallenged, my soul doth shine,
O King, who dare dispossess you
Of your fortress and throne and shrine. ?

THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(3)

THERE was a garden, behind Shiveswar's house in Bhowanipore. The gold-mohur trees in it were in flower, and presented a blaze of colour to the beholders' eyes. The Oriya gardener was busy plucking the red bunches with the help of a bamboo, and placing them in a basket. A little girl of about seven or eight was swinging, with evident enjoyment, in a swing suspended from a mango-tree. Her anklets tinkled and the end of her striped *saree*, floated behind her like a veil. Her mop of unruly hair was giving her much trouble. Her two hands were engaged with the ropes of the swing. If she let go, she would fall, but the hair lashing across her eyes made her highly nervous. Suddenly, a bright idea seemed to strike her and she cried out excitedly, "Mali *, oh Mali, please give me the strings in your basket."

The Oriya flung down the bamboo, and baring his reddish teeth, asked with a laugh, "What do you want it for, little miss?"

The small lady took offence, and cried out sharply; "First bring them. I have no time to listen to your babblings."

The man made a pretence of being highly dismayed and brought two pieces of string. "Tie me to the swing with one," directed his little mistress, "and with the second one, tie up my hair in a tight knot."

The Oriya was bursting with silent laughter. "But won't grandmother scold me?" he managed to ask; "why do you say such things?"

The little woman tried to be very grave and stern. "Do what I say," she said. "If grandma is angry, she will scold me, not you. So you need not be afraid."

The gardener had to obey perforce. He made fast the small lady to the swing with the first string, and with the second one, tied up her unruly curly hair in a tight and cruel knot. She was highly pleased, "I will give you sweets," she declared to

her obedient servant; "now give me a good swing."

The man obeyed with alacrity and gave the swing a mighty push. It shot up like a rocket and touched the topmost branch of the tree. The mango-blossoms fell in a shower on and about the child and the small branches struck her like so many whips. Her face paled with fear and she sobbed out aloud in alarm, "Oh dear, oh dear, this rascal of a Mali is killing me."

The man was alarmed, lest the cry should reach the real mistress and catching hold of the swing, he made it stop and took down the child from it.

But he was just a bit too late. A widowed lady, of about fifty years of age, rushed out of the house and called out sternly, "Mukta, you naughty thing! So you are out in this blazing sun! What a tom-boy you are, to be sure. Did not any other time suit you? You must come out in the full noon. Come here, at once. And Mali, what sort of a man are you? She is a child and thoughtless. But you are not in your dotage yet. Why did you put her in a swing, in this terrible heat? And why did she get frightened? If she falls ill of fright?"

The Oriya gave some sort of a lame excuse, and escaped. Mukti came and stood by her grand-mother, with a sullen expression. The state of her hair made the old lady nearly faint.

"You naughty girl," she cried again, "you make me run nearly a mile every day, before I can touch your hair and comb it. And now what have you been doing to it? Does it not look like a crow's nest? And you have put on a tiara of coir string? What a beauty! The Governor is coming down to take you away, as his son's bride! Throw the string away, at once. I never saw the like of it! It will take me the rest of the day to put you to rights again."

Mokshada Devi, Shiveswar's mother, had to come out of her retirement, when her daughter-in-law died, leaving her baby girl behind. Mokshada gave up her

* Gardener.

country house and her worship of the family-god and came over to Calcutta to look after her son's household and his baby. Though he was a heretic, still he was her own son. She could not leave his child to the tender mercies of the be-skirted Ayah. Her son had already become an ascetic at this age. So there was small chance of his bringing a second wife home. Even a step-mother, if she happened to be of good family, would not have neglected such a sweet baby. But who can withstand fate? So Mukti's grandmother had to take the place of her mother. Mukti called her "mother" generally and "grandma" very rarely.

Mukti was quite up-to-date regarding the prevailing female fashions. So she had a good laugh at her grand-mother's antiquated ideas and sat down to put her in the right. She pushed away the old lady's hand from her head and said, "You don't know anything, mother. Girls now-a-days don't tie up their hair in braided coils. And neither do they put oil in their hair. They tie up their hair with strings, as I did. Haven't you seen? Bela came day before yesterday. How nice her hair looked, tied with a red string! You don't give me any nice things; so I have to use these ugly strings."

"All right, all right, you wise old woman," her grandmother said. "I own that I don't know anything and you know everything. So you have taken a fancy to Bela and her Christian manners? Your father has spoilt you completely. I don't see why girls should wear red ribbons, bows and belts, like the *durwans* of the Judge Sahib. These are new-fangled ideas. In our times, girls put oil in their hair and put them up decently. But if I want to do that for her, she will rend the very heavens with her shrieks. And now look at the state of her hair! It is worse than that of a *Bhairabi*".*

The old lady jerked the strings off her grand-daughter's hair and dress. Mukti gave her an angry push and sat down to sulk in a corner of the room.

She was a spoilt child, and her sulks used to last a long time as well as her crying spells. So her grandmother made haste to negotiate for peace. She took up the child in her arms, wiped her eyes and said, "Don't cry; there's a darling. Let us go and dress up. We shall go to Kartik Babu's house to see the new bride. I have put out

many Benarasi *sarees* and ornaments. You choose whatever you like to wear. Hurry up, as we shall be late."

Mukti rubbed off her tears with the back of her doubled up fists and broke into a smile, even before her tears had dried.

The house, which stood behind the garden, was in festive attire to-day. From the morning, the sounds of an Indian band had been proclaiming to the neighbourhood the advent of a bride in it. All the children of the quarter had congregated there to listen to this music and to stare at the puffed out cheeks of the flute-players. The small folks were richly dressed, some in sailor suits and gold-braided caps, some in frocks of velvet and loud tinkling anklets. Some also had befeathered caps stuck on their coils of braided hair. They had given up all thoughts of food and drink, in their enthusiasm for the music. Some babies also were present in total or partial undress, whom their elders had dragged off to the place of entertainment, even before they had finished their toilette.

Mukti had hitherto paid scant attention to the music, being too much engrossed in the flowers of the gold-mohur and the surring. But as her grandmother reminded her of it, her mind felt the call of the music; and like a most obedient little girl, she washed her face and sat down to make her choice of the gaudy *sarees* and glittering jewellery, her grand-mother had borrowed for her.

Shiveswar did not want his child to dress in the orthodox fashion or to wear antiquated ornaments. He thought jewellery ridiculous for small children. But Mukti sided with her grandmother in this matter. As she had no jewellery of her own, her grandmother had to borrow from the neighbours, whenever an occasion presented itself.

Mukti took the jewel case in her lap and selected two heavy anklets, a huge gold necklace, which hung in seven rows, a tiara and too large bracelets. Mokshada had pierced Mukti's ears, in secret, because her son hated all these barbarous practices, as he called them. But Mukti was too wild to allow the secret to be kept. Her ears soon became swollen and red and brought down the attention of Shiveswar upon them. The result was an angry dispute, which made mother and son go without food the whole day. But Mukti had forgotten the deep insult, received on the occasion, and chose a pair of

* Female ascetic.

ear-rings as well, for her small ears. A jacket made of green velvet and profusely decorated with black lace, and a red Benarasi *saree*, which Mukti's mother had worn as a bride, completed her outfit.

Mokshada set herself to the ponderous task of decorating her grand-daughter. She brought a bottle of scented hair oil, two or three combs, hair-pins of various colour, make and design, some false hair and even some nails. Mukti did not object to anything now. She had already put on the gold necklace, and was busily scanning her face in the round mirror, which used to stand on her father's dressing table. Her head was pulled back frequently, as her grandmother strove to comb her knotted hair smooth, and she held up the mirror higher and higher in order to have an uninterrupted view of her face. She had fallen in love with it, like Narcissus of old.

Mukti's grandmother oiled her curly hair profusely and combed them straight. Then she plaited them into separate braids, with the help of the false hair and constructed a huge affair on the back of Mukti's small head. It looked like a large pancake, and was so made fast to her head with innumerable hair-pins and nails that it would not have come down even if her head had. It was the first time within the year, that Mukti had sat so docile, under her grandmother's hand, while the old lady did her hair. But the matter did not give the small lady unmixed satisfaction. She bore it somehow, being too eager to put on the tiara and ear-rings.

After finishing with her hair, the old lady sent for a maid-servant. She came up and cried out, enchanted at the sight of Mukti's hair. "Oh dear, has not little miss done her hair in grand style! How beautiful she looks! Girls do not look well, when their hair looks like crow's nests."

But the old lady cut her short. "Go, go, wash her neck and face properly. We don't want your gassing now."

Mukti went willingly enough with the maid. Mokshada sat, cleaning the combs and thinking, when suddenly her son entered.

"What are you thinking of, mother?" he asked. "About Mukti, I suppose. She is getting quite big. Don't you think it high time to engage a private tutor for her?"

Mokshada agreed to her son's proposal and said, "Yes, she is getting big. We must

think about her now. If you want to engage a private tutor, do so. I don't know much about these matters. I was thinking of another matter. Do you remember, I spoke to you about a daughter of Nidhu Bhattacharya? The girl is quite grown-up now. She must be quite fourteen by this month. She had been married to Bishnu, Kartik Babu's son. A very fine girl! Only a fortunate man gets such a jewel of a wife. But you never listened to me. Now see. Bishnu is no younger than you, he is considerably older. He was six years of age and got admitted into school, and you were not even born then. He has already got four sons, too. Now, if he could marry the girl, why could not you? You thought yourself extremely old and unsuitable, being the father of one child. You said, you could not marry a cry-baby. Now go and see, whether she is crying or not. She is more likely to take over complete charge of her household from to-day, and pension off her old mother-in-law."

Shiveswar was rather taken aback, at this sudden attack. "But what is the use of talking about that now," he said; "you won't get her now, even if I agree to marry again."

"Why don't you say so?" cried out his mother, even before he had finished. "I promise to get a bride for you, who would be twice as beautiful and quite grown-up. Just say the word and leave the rest to me. Bishnu's bride won't be fit to hold a candle to her."

Shiveswar jumped up in alarm, saying, "No, no, I did not mean that. I am not pining away for marriage. I want to know, what you are thinking about Mukti."

His mother sighed and said, "Then why did you hold out false hopes to your old mother? It was foolish of me to believe you at all. Don't I know quite well, that you are not one to obey your mother and to marry according to her wishes?"

Shiveswar was in a fix. "Good lord," he cried, "there you go again. I want to talk about Mukti. What do you think would be best for her?"

His mother flared up at once, "I don't know and I don't care," she said angrily. "Do whatever you like." Then, as suddenly, she calmed down.

"You have heard, have not you, that Kartik Babu is celebrating the home-coming of the bride. Many people are invited. They are arranging a good feast. Bishnu's

eldest son, by his first wife, is an extremely intelligent boy. He is only fifteen, but has nearly completed his school course. Only a month ago, he was sent up into a new class. Two years hence, he is going to appear at a great examination and join a college. The boy is good-looking, too. So what I say is this. Let me take Mukti to the feast. She may find favour in their eyes; she is pretty enough. Then we shall be sure of a very good match."

Shiveswar lost his temper completely. He jumped up from his seat, crying. "Certainly not I won't allow my daughter to go about like a sample of merchandise. Good match indeed! The boy is already fifteen and still at school! And it is going to take two more years for him to get into college. Very brilliant! Many such boys would fall at the feet of my daughter yet. Mukti is but a baby now. Don't put such horrid ideas into her head now, or you will spoil her future completely. It would be very hard to educate her then."

"Oh indeed!" said his mother. "The girl has passed eight already. Now you want to educate her, leaving the all important question shelved. Then when she has become an old maid and completely Anglicised, you will think about her marriage. But no good orthodox Brahmin boy would touch such a girl then."

"Much I care," said Shiveswar, still in a temper. "Even if they solicit me on their bended knees, I won't give my daughter to a Brahmin boy."

"What frightful nonsense are you talking?" cried out his mother in alarm.

Just at this moment Mukti entered, accompanied by the maid-servant. She was dressed in her rainbow-coloured garments and completely covered with heavy jewellery. These glittered and tinkled as the child walked. Her dress could have accommodated two other girls like her very easily.

The sight of Mukti, enraged her father still more. He got up from the bed on which he had been sitting and cried out, "What have you been doing, mother? Shame, shame, just look at the child's appearance! A good training she is getting. Even a maid-servant would have done better by her. What have you been doing with her hair? They seem about to be rooted

up, off her head. And what's the use of exposing her forehead like this?"

His mother was almost in tears by this time. "I know, I know," she said, "even the low caste Ayahs are better to you than your mother. You are flesh of my flesh, that's why I keep on hanging to you, leaving my own hearth and home. But I shall go home this very day. Engage one of those skirt-wearing brazen females, you are so fond of."

Shiveswar scented danger ahead. So he climbed down a bit and said, "You know, mother, how my temper runs away with me. You need not take my ravings to be gospel truth. The child would certainly have died, unless you had taken care of her. Who else could have managed a baby, barely a week old? But to tell you the truth, mother, she will get completely spoilt if she remains at home, and you indulge all her absurd whims. Even a private tutor would not help much. I shall put her into a boarding school. To-morrow is Monday, I shall take her then."

This sentence of banishment was too much for Mukti. She flung herself down, dressed as she was, on her grandmother's lap, and began to sob loudly. She would not stop, but went on crying and shrieking "I won't go to school, I won't. I won't leave mother, I shall stay with her."

Tears ran down her face, and stained her silk clothes. "What can I do, my dear?", said her grandmother, trying to comfort her. "Your father thinks I am ruining your future. You won't get a proper training, if you stay here. He wants you to become a Mem Sahib. I am an old-fashioned, ignorant woman, I know none of the modern ways and manners." Mokshada took up Mukti in her arms and her jewels fell down in a shower at her feet. But the child was too much upset to care about these. She buried her face in her grandmother's shoulder and went on sobbing.

Tears started even to Shiveswar's eyes. Poor little, motherless child! She knew no other mother than this one; how could he tear her away from these loving arms?

But all the while he felt that he was right. If he left the child with his mother much longer, she would get quite impossible. He would not be able to train her and educate her as he wanted to. So he must put her away, though

it would be a fearful wrench for himself, too.

Shiveswar went out of the room and called his bearer, Krishna. "Call a *gharri* at once," he said. "I am going to the New Market. My carriage has not been brought home from the workshop yet. Look up those people and tell them to hurry. To-morrow I am going to take little miss to school, and I want the carriage for that."

His mother heard every word from her room where she was sitting with Mukti. Tears began to drop from her eyes and fall on Mukti's head, but she wiped them away in a hurry, lest evil befall her granddaughter. But she could not reconcile herself in any way to the fact that Mukti, the baby, whom she had reared up from almost the time of her birth, was to be taken away from her. When her husband died, she had given up the world in her grief and taken the stone image of her god to be her all. But a child had drawn her away from the god and cast such a net round her heart, that she found it impossible to liberate herself.

Mukti had thrown off her silk dress, her jewels, her hair pins and flowers in anger and had now sobbed herself to sleep in her grandmother's arms. The music from the house, next door, sounded louder and louder. The sound of laughter and talking could be heard from here. But the inmates of this house were too heavy of heart to pay any attention to these sounds. Mokshada had forgotten all about Bishnu's beautiful bride and his over-intelligent son. She could only think of Mukti's banishment. Poor little motherless thing! Perhaps she will make herself sick with crying, falling into the clutches of those horrible masculine schoolmistresses.

Mukti was dreaming then. She thought, she saw her father snatching away her jewels and she ran off to her grandmother.

All this time, Shiveswar was going the round of the New Market shops, with a coolie following close behind. From every shop, shouts greeted him as he passed, "Come on, sir, very good essence." "Here you are sir, fine silk stockings," "We sell the finest stuff, come in and see for yourself."

Shiveswar was in no mood to listen to them. Any other day, he would have accepted the offers of many of them and would have purchased a lot of unnecessary things. But to-day he went on towards his favourite shop, disregarding all these

greetings and calls. One of the disappointed shopmen, laughed derisively, saying, "Is not he a big Sahib? I don't think he is worth more than three pice and dines off shrimp cutlets. He could not afford to come into our shop."

The coolie, who followed Shiveswar, soon had his huge basket filled to overflowing. Shiveswar had finished for the day, and drove off with his numerous purchases, all wrapt in brown paper. These bundles contained ready-made silk frocks, lace, stockings, embroidered handkerchiefs, many-coloured ribbons, white and pink toilette powder, high-heeled boots and heelless slippers, pinafores, school bags, biscuits, chocolates and many other dainty edibles which small ladies favour. The sobbing of his child still rang in his ears. How should he live without her? She was the single tie which bound him to the world. If she were gone, the house would become quite desolate. Still duty was duty.

Shiveswar got down from his carriage and entered his mother's room. She was lying down, with Mukti by her side. The servants came and went before her door, but went away without receiving any orders; they dared not ask her anything. As Shiveswar came in, his mother sat up, putting down the sleeping child, whom she had kept in her arms all this while.

"I bought all these for Mukti," Shiveswar said. "I shall take her to school to-morrow. I shall bring her home every Friday for the week end. So you need not be too sad about it."

Mokshada did not say anything. After all, Mukti was his child, and he had a perfect right to do whatever he wished with her. Who was she to interfere? Shiveswar saw that she was in no mood for a talk, so he left her room and retired for the night.

All the three members of the family slept badly that night. They dreamed all night of separation and started in their sleep. Festive sounds from next door broke in again and again upon their sleep.

(4)

Shiveswar woke up even before the rosy light of the dawn had entered his room through the window. His sense of duty was weighing on his heart like a load of stone, and he could not shake off this feeling of

oppression. The memory of the day his wife died came continually to his mind. The week-old baby had been his only solace then, she had saved him from complete hopelessness. He could not weep then, because of the baby. But now that he was sending her away, his eyes filled again and again with tears. If Hemnalini had been alive, her child would not have been banished like this.

Both Mukti and her grandmother had got up very early too. The old lady was still in a temper with her son and determined to have nothing to do with his child. So she had entered the store room as soon as she had got up and refused to come out of it on any pretext. She had not even given Mukti her breakfast of a large bowl of milk but had ordered the cook to do it for her. Mukti had as much objection to taking her milk as she had to having her hair combed. She would not come before her grandmother in the morning if she could help it. She knew that there was very little chance of her escaping grandma's clutches, without taking that huge bowlful of milk. The old lady would coax, cajole and scold, she would tell entrancing fairy stories, and Mukti would suddenly find that she had swallowed the milk, together with the tale.

But to-day Mukti did not feel any of the joys of deliverance, from this cruel oppression of her grandmother. Grandma had left her in the bed without calling her. Mukti had lain awake for a long time. She resolved that she would not answer at all, when her grandmother came to call her. She would remain with eyes closed, no matter how much grandmother called her. But the sun rose higher and higher in the heavens, the room filled with light, still no grandma. Instead of her one of the maid-servants came and told her to get up. Mukti threw a pillow at her, and turned round with a bolster clasped tightly in her arms.

Just at this time, the cook entered with the bowl of milk. This added fuel to the fire. The bowl was flung to the floor, with a crash, the milk rolled along in a white stream, the cook left the room with a good many scratches on the arm and Mukti began to sob again. From last evening, her heart had been full to overflowing with anger and sorrow; all came out now in a flood. But it is an ill wind which blows nobody good. Mukti's pet kitten profited by the sorrow of her mistress. She ran up, with her tail in

the air, and began to lap up the milk with evident satisfaction. But Mukti's grandma had steeled her heart to-day. The sound of the bowl falling and the entrance of the cook with loud complaints failed to move her at all. She went on cutting up vegetables with the same stern face. The maid-servant, Moti, ran to her a bit officiously, and asked, "Shall I go and buy some sweet-meats for the little miss?"

"Go and ask your master," replied the old lady.

This seemed such an awful innovation to the maid-servant, that she went away, silenced very effectively.

But Mukti's loud grief was not a complete failure. Shiveswar was probably coming this way; the uproar in Mukti's room brought him all the sooner. Mukti was still sobbing. Shiveswar came up to the bed and took her up in his arms. "What has happened to my little mother?" he asked.

It was a difficult question, and Mukti had no answer ready. So she remained silent, with her face buried in her father's shoulder. Shiveswar understood well enough what the matter was. "Let us go and see the things, I bought for you yesterday," he said. Mukti's head came out of its cover at once.

The things were still reposing in their brown paper covers in Shiveswar's room. But as soon as their small owner appeared, they were dragged down, their wrappings torn off, and scattered all over the floor. Good heavens, what an amazing heap of treasures! The little woman forgot all her sorrows and complaints in an instant. What beautiful frocks of various colours, what wonderful little shoes! The ribbon took her fancy most of all. What a beautiful string! It was better and brighter than the string Bela had. She wound it round her head at once, in the shape of a turban. Her father took it off, hastily, saying, "Not that way, darling. First wash and comb your hair clean, then tie them with it. If you put it on now, the oil in your hair will spoil it."

Mukti was ready to wash her hair there and then. She did not want any delay, she wanted to get dressed at once in her new things. The bearer went and called the maid-servant, who acted as lady's maid to the small lady. With her mouth full of chocolates Mukti went to her bath. She felt very independent of her grandma now. She did not care if grandma did not

give her her bath. She would bathe herself, she would. She would not show grandma any of her new things.

After she had been bathed and dried, Mukti ran to her father's room again. She found him sitting silent amidst all the finery that strewed the floor. A servant was busy, picking and folding those wonderful garments and putting them inside a very big box. Their carriage was waiting outside, it had just come from the workshop.

Mukti frisked inside, like a gust of the playful south wind, and asked, "Where are we going father? Shall we go in the carriage? But we won't take mother, she is very naughty."

"I shall take you to the school, darling," replied her father.

That dreadful name again! All at once, her eyes filled with tears, her red lips pouted and a sob was about to break out. Shiveswar took her up in her arms and said, "Don't, there's a darling. You will learn to read and write there. Did not you see that day, how nicely Bela read from an English book and you could not do it? If you go to school, you will learn to read more nicely than Bela. I shall go to see you everyday, and bring you home every Friday, for the week end. If you are good, I shall buy you lots of dolls and toys and everything you ask for."

Mukti had perforce to take comfort. The bribe offered was too great. So she sat down to superintend the packing.

It was time to go. According to her father's request, Mukti went and had her breakfast. Then began the onerous task of dressing herself. Father and daughter were in a fix now. Their combined efforts at last achieved something, which could by no means be called artistic. But Mukti was quite satisfied, she had got the much-coveted red ribbon in her hair.

"Come darling," said Shiveswar, "and say good-bye to grandma."

Both went inside the store-room, and found Mokshada still busy with her duties there. Mukti threw herself upon her, crying, "Mother, I am going to see a school."

Grandma pushed her off hastily, saying "Goodness, so you must come and throw yourself upon me, with your shoes and stockings on?"

Shiveswar's face grew stern. He drew away Mukti and strode out of the room. As they went out, the old lady ran into her

room and locked the door. Then she threw herself down on the floor and began to weep.

The carriage containing Mukti and father, drove out. The carriage went on and on and Mukti poked her father every now and then, asking, "How far is the school yet, father?"

"We are quite close to it," Shiveswar would answer.

At last, when Mukti had already begun to nod with drowsiness, the carriage drove up in front of a big building, with very big round pillars, and came to a standstill. Shiveswar got out and took down Mukti. A *durwan* came and showed them into a small room. Mukti was a bit surprised and asked, "Why father, where are the other little girls?"

Before her father could answer, a lady drew aside the curtain and entered. Mukti felt her heart sinking as she gazed with dismay at the enormous lady and her spectacled face. The lady saluted her father courteously and sat down in the chair facing him. They began to talk. Mukti stared at them with open mouth. What kind of a talk was this? She could not understand a word of it.

Suddenly the lady looked at her and asked, "What's your name, baby?"

Mukti edged closer to her father and answered timidly, "Mukti".

They all stood up and Shiveswar walked out of the room. Mukti ran to him and clasped one of his hands, saying, "Father, let's go home."

"You won't go home now, darling," Shiveswar said; "you will live here. After four or five days, I shall take you home. I am going now, you go and play with the other little girls."

Shiveswar advanced towards his carriage and the teacher drew Mukti towards herself. Mukti had not felt up to now the awfulness of her banishment. But as soon as she saw her father getting into his carriage, she cried out loudly, "Take me with you, father, I won't stay here."

"Drive, quick," ordered Shiveswar to the coachman. Tears were trickling down his face. The coachman whipped up his horses and the carriage was out of sight in a moment.

Mukti was still sobbing. She had not noticed that a large bell had just rung. Suddenly, she saw a crowd of girls coming out of the rooms on all sides. There were

quite big girls, girls only a bit older than herself and girls, as small as herself; some were wearing *sarees*, some were wearing frocks. Some wore lots of ornaments, some had no other finery on than a ribbon in the hair. But most of them avoided these two extremes, and tried a middle course. They had rings in their ears and noses, which were quite orthodox, but had paid a tribute to modernism in adopting stockings and shoes and even ribbons, which looked incongruous on their well-oiled locks.

Some of the girls had tiffin boxes of aluminium in their hands and some carried round boxes of tin, in which they had stuffed their food. These girls took shelter under the stairs, or behind the large folding door and began to eat. Those who took no tiffin, began playing and shouting in the large quadrangular space, which occupied the middle of the building.

Two girls took hold of a big rope by its two ends and began whirling it round and round swiftly. Four or five girls jumped to and fro over the rope, keeping up a sort of rhythm. What sort of a play was this? Mukti's tears dried up in amusement. In the meanwhile, the teacher, who had received Mukti, called a dark and slender girl, and handed over Mukti to her.

"Keep her with you now, Molina," she said. "But after the tiffin hour is over, go and put her in the gallery class. Tell Miss Nag that I sent her." Molina took Mukti by the hand, and led her around. Mukti began to feel more at ease, with this gentlemanly girl. She seemed like one's own people. She clasped Molina's hand confidently and walked along by her side.

"Will you play with these girls?" asked Molina. Mukti shook her small head vigorously.

She was walking in the garden with Molina and picking flowers, when another bell rang. All the girls left off playing and eating and ran inside the class rooms. Molina took Mukti inside one of these rooms. This room contained something like a huge wooden staircase, and many girls were sitting on the stairs. A big woman sat in a chair, in front of the staircase.

Molina whispered something to this lady, and left after placing Mukti on one of those stairs. The little girls around her giggled and whispered. Mukti felt like crying again. She did not understand why Molina had left her with these cruel little girls.

How long she sat there, she had no idea. At last a bell rang loudly and all the little girls ran out, taking their books and slates with them. Molina came up to Mukti, and took her away.

Long carriages stood in the drive in front of the building. The girls began to get into these carriages. Mukti did not know how many girls got into each carriage. She had never seen so many girls together. She tried but failed to count them. Molina took her away from the place after a time.

They came inside a big, long room. It contained huge wardrobes, and big mirror mounted on chests of drawers. Mukti found here her own trunk, too. Molina opened it and took a new frock. She washed Mukti's face carefully, brushed her hair, then took her to another room. Many girls sat there in front of large tables, and ate from plates. Mukti was placed on a high stool, with her feet dangling in the air. She managed to finish her dinner in that position.

Then came playtime. Molina took Mukti to a large green lawn and said, "Now, play with the little girls." Mukti shook her head in violent dissent, saying, "No, I won't. They are naughty. They laughed at me. I shall stay with you. But what shall I call you?"

The big girl laughed and said, "Call me Molina-di.*"

Many girls had crowded around. A girl of about seventeen or eighteen suddenly picked up Mukti in her arms and said, "What a doll! We shall call you Dolly."

Mukti stared at her in amazement and said, "No, my name is Mukti."

The girl was very beautiful. She was extremely fair, had big eyes, blue as pieces of sapphire and pink cheeks. Mukti continued staring at her and asked at last, "How did you make your cheeks, so red?"

The girl laughed outright, saying, "Don't you know? Every night before going to bed, I put red ink on my cheeks. So they look red in the morning. I shall put red ink on your cheeks, too, to-night, and you will get lovely red cheeks in the morning."

Mukti was very much surprised. Molina slapped the other girl on the back, saying, "Go on, Susie. Don't tease the little thing like this."

Two or three smaller girls had also ventured near. They seemed eager to make friends with Mukti. One of them approached

* "di" is short for "didi", elder sister.

close to Mukti and whispered, "I have got a big waxen doll. Would you like to see it? It has a real silk dress on."

Mukti could not refrain from making friends now. After a while, Molina looked around to find them engrossed completely in the silk-clad doll. Mukti was talking now, quite glibly. Nobody would have believed now, that this very little girl had nearly rent the skies with her shrieks only two hours ago, when taken away from her father.

Shiveswar did not come to see Mukti that day. Perhaps the Lady Principal had forbidden him to do so. After a day or two he called. As soon as he had taken his seat in the small visitor's room, Mukti rushed in upon him like a little tornado. She threw herself into his arms and babbled on. The amazed Shiveswar found most of it incomprehensible, but understood so far that his daughter had got friends, Aparna, Sushila, Bimala and Krishnadasi by name, and most of them possessed wonderful treasures. One had a very beautiful ribbon, another had gold bracelets, some one else had got a superb dress of pure silk. Mukti wanted all these things—she must have them. Besides these things, she wanted a very big doll, dressed in real red silk.

Shiveswar had expected and feared Mukti to be pining away in her exile at the boarding-school. It was hard to tell whether he was relieved or disappointed at the real state of affairs. He ought to have been glad at her being so cheerful, but, strange to say, he felt a bit hurt at this.

He came again on Friday and took Mukti home. She sent grandma nearly wild with her description of the little girls at the boarding school, their beauty, their accomplishments and the wonderful treasures they possessed. She could hardly wait to get down from the carriage, but shouted at her, "Grandma," from the carriage, "do you know, Ma, Susie-di at the boarding-school, is far better-looking than Bela."

Next Monday, she had to return to the boarding-school. She made another row then. But Shiveswar had learnt diplomacy. He went and bought her all the things she coveted in her fellow boarders. Mukti got reconciled to her lot. What would be her life worth, if she could not show these treasures to Aparna, Bimala and others? So she clasped the brown paper parcels in her arms and got into the carriage which was to take her to the school.

(To be continued)

CAUSES OF THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

BY MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (*Retd.*)

III

IT was because the Russians fully believed in the feasibility of the programme, that the Governor-General of Russian Turkestan tried to contract an alliance with the Ameer of Afghanistan.

Nor can we blame the Ameer for receiving the Russian Mission. He was likened to "the earthen pipkin between two iron pots." One iron pot desired to crush him, the other iron pot had not as yet declared its intention one way or the other. Was it any wonder that the earthen pipkin should be anxious to know the intention of the Russian iron pot towards him? The English had

deserted the Ameer, had withdrawn their Agent from his Court. What else was he to do but try and see if Russia was willing to stretch the hand of friendship and protection to him? The esteem in which the Russians were held by the people of Afghanistan was not the same in which the English were. In Sher Ali's time no Englishman's life would have been worth a month's purchase in Cabul. The English had ravaged Afghanistan with fire and sword within the memory of the living generation. Many a man was still living who remembered how the English soldiers had brought desolation and ruin to

his country. "Revenge is sweet" is an English saw; similarly the Italian proverb says, "Vengeance sleeps long but never dies." The Afghan code of honor demands blood for blood and an eye for an eye. Amongst the Afghans, one would be looked upon as lacking in manliness, if he did not avenge the murder or disgrace of any one of his relations or friends. Hence blood feuds are so common in Afghanistan. What the European newspapers report as "Ghazi outrages" is another name for and synonymous with blood feuds. The writer has travelled in Afghanistan and he has been assured by intelligent and well-informed Afghans that the victims of the Ghazi outrages are always and invariably English people. There are many Hindus living in the villages of Afghanistan, but they are never victims of fanatic Ghazis. The Hindus are worse infidels in the eyes of devout Mahomedans than the English, who, as Christians, are one of the peoples of their Book, i.e., the Koran. Some relation or friend of the perpetrator of a Ghazi outrage must have been killed in action in one of the Afghan wars or frontier expeditions, by some English officer or soldier. Hence he has taken the vow of depriving some Englishman of his life and become a Ghazi. The administration of the Frontier Law is also accountable for the existence of many Ghazis. Under that law many a Pathan has been hanged or transported or disgraced for life, without sufficient evidence. The assassination of Lord Mayo illustrates the mischievous effects of the administration of the Frontier Law and bringing into existence a number of Ghazis.

While the people of Afghanistan were certainly hostile to the English, as admitted by Lord Northbrook, whose opinion on the subject of the despatch of an English Resident to the Court of Kabul has already been quoted, they had no reason to harbor hostile feelings against the Russians. Hence the members of the Russian Mission met with hospitality in every part of Afghanistan they passed through.

The Ameer did not invite the Russians to send any mission to him. But when the Governor-General of Russian Turkestan proposed the despatch of the Mission and asked his permission, he was thrown into great perplexity. Had Lord Lytton maintained the native agent at his court, the

Ameer would have consulted the Government of India before permitting the Russian Mission to enter his territory. Besides, he had pledged himself to hold no intercourse with Russia.

In the understanding between England and Russia, it was the latter who agreed to consider Afghanistan as lying beyond the sphere of her influence. Russia agreed not to meddle in Afghan politics.

From the parliamentary papers it appears that the Ameer consulted all the leading chiefs of Afghanistan before permitting the Russian Mission to enter his dominion. It further appears that after consultation with the leading chiefs, the Ameer declined to enter into a treaty of amity with Russia.

When the rumor of the arrival of the Russian Mission in Kabul reached Lord Lytton, he telegraphed to the Secretary of State for India for instructions. By this time the Marquis of Salisbury had been succeeded in the office of Secretary of State for India by Lord Cranbrook. Lord Lytton wished to know whether the Russian Mission would be treated by Her Majesty's Government as an Imperial question, or as a matter between the Ameer and the Government of India. In the latter case he proposed, with the approval of the Home Government, to insist on the immediate reception of a European British Mission. Lord Lytton concluded the telegram by saying :

"The alternative would be continued policy of complete inaction, difficult to maintain, and very injurious to our position in India."

Lord Cranbrook telegraphed to Lord Lytton to make certain of the facts before insisting on the reception of a British envoy. But the Viceroy of India, instead of making certain of facts, telegraphed again, urging immediate action.

It appears to us that the question should have been treated as an Imperial one between England and Russia. The Congress of Berlin held on the 13th June 1878, although it was a piece of pompous and empty ceremonial, gave to Russia all she wanted. The despatch of the Mission to Kabul by Russia came to the knowledge of the Viceroy of India and the Home Government in England a few weeks after the Treaty of Berlin had been ratified. If Russia wanted to violate the treaty, the matter should have been dealt with by the Imperial Government, for Russia had no business to

interfere with Afghanistan, which was recognised to be under the British sphere of influence.

Lord Cranbrook, while considering the question to be an Imperial one, unfortunately was persuaded by Lord Lytton to approve of the Viceroy's policy in peremptorily demanding the Ameer to receive a European British Mission at Kabul. At the same time remonstrances were addressed to Russia by the foreign office in England. The Foreign Minister of Russia informed the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, on the 14th August 1878, that Russia claimed the right to take both military and diplomatic precautions against the importation of Indian troops, by England, to Malta, and that 'the political as well as military precautions had been stopped.'

On September 8, 1878, the Russian Foreign Minister again wrote to the British, ambassador that the mission to Kabul, which had been avowedly sent in prospect of a war with England, was now, in consequence of the pacific result of the Congress at Berlin, 'of a provisional nature and one of simple courtesy.' It was also asserted on the part of the Czar

'that the Emperor could never forego his right of sending complimentary missions to any foreign sovereigns or neighbouring princes.'

Even Lord Beaconsfield, the then Prime Minister of England, declared in his speech in the House of Lords on the 10th December, 1878, that Russia was justified under the circumstances in all that she had done.

The Secretary of State for India, Lord Cranbrook, approved of Lord Lytton's plan of peremptorily demanding the Ameer to receive a British Mission in Cabul. The Viceroy did not consider it proper to inquire of the Ameer if such a mission would be acceptable to him. Lord Lytton thought it beneath his dignity to show any courtesy to the "earthen pipkin." Sir Neville Chamberlain, the then Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, was appointed envoy to Cabul. He was provided with an escort which was so numerous as to look like an army. A native Agent, not Ata Mahomed, but his predecessor in office, named Nawab Ghulam Hussain Khan, was sent on ahead with Lord Lytton's letter to announce the coming of the Embassy to the Ameer. No worse selection for this important post could have been made. Nawab Ghulam Hussain Khan, while British agent at Cabul, had made himself obnoxious to

the Ameer. The letter which the Nawab carried to the Ameer was written by the Viceroy at Simla, on the 14th August, 1878. In this letter Lord Lytton wrote:—

It is asked that your Highness may be pleased to issue commands to your Sirdars and to all other authorities in Afghanistan upon the route between Peshawar and Cabul, that they shall make without any delay whatever arrangements are necessary and proper, for effectively securing to my envoy, the representative of a friendly power, due safe conduct and suitable accommodations according to his dignity, while passing with his retinue through the dominions of your Highness."

At the same time attempts of the most hostile nature were made by Lord Lytton's orders to tamper with several of the Governors of the Afghan outposts.

Misfortunes seldom come single. While Sher Ali was being badgered and bullied by the British 'iron pot' in India, he was at the same time stricken with grief at the death of his favorite son. Abdullah Jan, whom Sher Ali had designated as his heir, died on the 17th August, 1878. It was during the period that the Ameer was still in mourning, for forty days had not yet passed since the death of his son, that Nawab Ghulam Hussain, whose very sight was hateful to the Ameer, had a private interview with him and presented the letters from the Viceroy. On 8th September Lord Lytton reports that he had ordered the Ameer's officers to be informed that Sir N. Chamberlain's Mission would leave Peshawar about the 16th, 'that its objects are friendly but that a refusal of free passage and safe-conduct will be considered an act of open hostility'.

On September 17, Sir N. Chamberlain, being then at Peshawar, communicated to the Viceroy a report of Ghulam Hussain's operations. He wrote:—

"Ameer was very much displeased, objected to the harsh words, and said: 'It is as if they were come by force. I do not agree to the Mission coming in this manner, and until my officers have received orders from me, how can the Mission come? It is as if they wish to disgrace me; it is not proper to use pressure in this way; it will tend to a complete rupture and breach of friendship. I am a friend as before and entertain no ill-will. The Russian Envoy has come, and has come with my permission. I am still afflicted with grief at the loss of my son, and have had no time to think over the matter. If I get time, whatever I consider advisable will be acted upon. Under these circumstances, they can do as they like.'"

But the British Viceroy was not overflowing with the milk of human sympathy and kindness for the grief-stricken father on

the death of his favorite son. He must have been glad in his heart of hearts that the long wished-for hour had come. The grief-stricken father asked for time, but the British Viceroy considered the 'earthen pipkin' had insulted the might and majesty of the power of which he was the representative by declaring that the Russian Mission had come into Afghanistan with his permission. Lord Lytton was bent on bringing things to a head. From Colonel Hanna's book we learn that Lord Lytton disregarded the advice of his Commander-in-Chief but leant for advice and guidance on three officers, named Colonel Colley, Major Roberts and Major Cavagnari. On their advice and guidance Lord Lytton ordered, on the 19th September 1878, Sir N. Chamberlain to leave Peshawar for Kabul. On the 21st Sir N. Chamberlain went from Peshawar to Jumrood; Major Cavagnari with a small escort went forward as far as Ali Musjid. But he was not allowed to proceed further by the Ameer's Commandant of troops there. The Commandant in a most courteous manner told Cavagnari that he should await the Ameer's orders, which were expected. This repulse precipitated matters; war now became inevitable. Lord Lytton was drunk with the sight of power and so were his British colleagues. He approved of a treacherous *coup de main* on Ali Musjid which Cavagnari had projected. It was said that this should impress the tribesmen. But the secret leaked out and therefore this was abandoned. An immediate concentration of troops on the Frontier was ordered. Intrigues were set afoot amongst the Afridis and other tribesmen of the Khyber Pass and they were bribed, intimidated and seduced from their allegiance to the Ameer. Lord Lytton and his advisers had trapped their game and were careful to prevent it from escaping. Their chief fear was that the Amir might yet apologise. The Viceroy's Private Secretary, Colonel Colley, wrote:—

"Our principal anxiety now is lest the Ameer should send in an apology and the Home Government interfere."

On resuming business after forty days' mourning, the Ameer Sher Ali, on the 6th October 1878, replied to Lord Lytton's letters. The Ameer's reply is so important that it should be given in full. He tried all the time to amicably settle the matter, for he being the 'earthen pipkin' was afraid of coming

into collision with the British 'iron pot' on his Indian Frontier. The Ameer wrote:—

"Be it known to your Excellency (*Janab*) that your Excellency's friendly letter, which was sent by the hands of the highly-honoured Nawab Ghulam Hussain Khan, and which contained the news of the deputation of a friendly Mission, namely, Mission from the British Government, has been perused by me, and on perusal I have fully informed myself of its contents. But the above-named Nawab had not yet been honoured with an interview, and your Excellency's friendly letter had not yet been seen by me, when a letter addressed by Major Waterfield, Commissioner of Peshawar, to Mirza Habibulla Khan, an official of this God-granted Government, having arrived here, was perused by this supplicant before the throne of God. And great surprise and astonishment was caused by the writing of the officer above mentioned—that is the Commissioner. What can be the result, meaning and advantage of such a vehement * communication to an ally and friend, and of advancing by force a friendly Mission in this manner?

"Subsequently three more letters from the same officer, in the same tone and style, to the address of the officials of this God-granted Government, were seen. These were not free from harsh and rough words and expressions, which are inconsistent with the forms of courtesy and civility and contrary to the mode of friendship and sympathy.

"In consequence of the attack of grief and affliction which has befallen me by the decree of God, great distraction has seized the mind of this supplicant at God's threshold. The trusted officers of the British Government, therefore, ought to have observed patience, and to have stayed, at such a time, and this would have been the most commendable and appropriate course. Your Excellency should be pleased to have regard to *mulhaza farmayaund*, this harsh (style) of address and provocation, as well as to the altercation with such anger with my officials. How inconsistent is this with the sublime way of friendship and alliance! In any case, the officials of this God-granted Government, notwithstanding the threatening communications of the officials of the British Government, which communications are still in the possession of the officers of this Government, will not evince any hostility or opposition to the British Government. Moreover, they do not entertain any hostile or antagonistic feelings toward any Government whatever. But should any Government entertain without cause any hostile and inimical feelings towards this God-granted Government, I commit all my affairs to the merciful God upon whose will and intention all matters depends. He alone suffices for us, and he is the best to be trusted. †

"The highly honoured Nawab Gholam Hussain Khan, who is the bearer of this friendly letter, has in accordance with the instructions received from the officers of the British Government, asked leave to return and the requisite permission has been granted."

* 'Literally, 'blustering' or 'full of noise.'

† Literally, 'the best Vakeel.'

There was nothing offensive or improper in the tone of the Ameer's letter. But the British Viceroy thought otherwise. He communicated with the Home Government. Disraeli *alias* Lord Beaconsfield was glad that the long prayed-for contingency to absorb Afghanistan had arisen. On 31st October 1878, Lord Lytton sent an ultimatum to the Ameer. He wrote:—

"I despatched by a trusted messenger a letter informing you that the Mission accredited to you was of a friendly character; that its business was urgent, and that it must proceed without delay.

"Nevertheless, you, having received my letter, did not hesitate to instruct your authorities on the frontier to repel the Mission by force. For this act of enmity and indignity to the Empress of India in the person of her envoy, your letter affords no explanation or apology, nor does it contain any answer to my proposal for full and frank understanding between our two Governments.

"In consequence of this hostile action on your part I have assembled Her Majesty's forces on your frontier, but I desire to give you a last opportunity of averting the calamities of war.

"For this it is necessary that a full and suitable apology be offered by you in writing, and tendered on British territory by an officer of sufficient rank.

"Furthermore, as it has been found impossible to maintain satisfactory relations between the two states unless the British Government is adequately represented in Afghanistan, it will be necessary that you should consent to receive a permanent British Mission within your territory.

"It is further essential that you should undertake that no injury shall be done by you to the tribes who acted as guides to my mission and that reparation shall be made for any damage they have suffered from you; and if any injury be done by you to them, the British Government will at once take steps to protect them.

"Unless these conditions are accepted fully and plainly by you, and your acceptance received

by me not later than November 20, I shall be compelled to consider your intentions as hostile and to treat you as a declared enemy of the British Government."

This letter from the British Viceroy was treated by the Ameer with that contempt which it fully merited. The 20th November arrived but Lord Lytton did not receive any reply. This circumstance gladdened the hearts of Lord Lytton and his advisers, whose principal anxiety was lest the Ameer should send in an apology. The 'earthen pipkin' knew that he was no match for the enraged British 'iron pot'. But we must give him credit for not accepting the disgraceful terms of the British Viceroy. The Ameer acted up to the principle of death before dishonor.

The die was now cast. On November 21, 1878, war was formally declared by Lord Lytton. Soldiers led by British officers were poured into the Ameer's dominion. The British Government was found guilty of 'breach of faith'; for the Afghan people had been assured that so long as they were not excited by their Ruler or others to acts of aggression upon the territories or friends of the British Government, no British soldier would ever be permitted to enter Afghanistan. But what did the Afghan people see? They were not guilty of any acts of aggression. They did not invite any British soldier to Afghanistan. They saw British officers and men invade their country, slay their countrymen and wantonly destroy their property. No British historian has ever been able to justify this war of aggression and ambition.

THE CASE FOR AN INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

BY J. M. GANGULI, M.S.C., LL.B.

ONE of the saddest things in modern Indian history has been the decline of the Indian Marine, which may be said to have set in after the first quarter of the last century and which ended in the virtual extinction of the Indian Marine not long after the assumption of the Government of

the land by the British Crown. And yet Indian shipping has had a great and a glorious past. Even leaving the Vedic period, when also mention of vessels and of merchants going out on voyage for trade is found, evidences, direct and indirect, are available which show that as far back as

about 1,000 B. C. India had developed trade relations with countries far and near, like Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, Rome, Greece, Turkey and later on with Holland, England, Portugal and other countries. Her culture and civilisation, her fine arts, her skill in handicrafts, her vast resources, and her variety of products, both raw and finished, had attracted the interest and attention of peoples of different lands with which she had sea-borne trade and communication. Even much later on in the modern times after the advent of the English in India, the Indians had not lost their former skill in the art of ship-building. In 1811 a French traveller, F. Baltzar Soloyns, wrote that,

"in ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping."

Under the British also the head builders in the Bombay Government Dockyard were all Indians from 1736 up to 1837.

"In 1802 the Admiralty ordered men-of-war for the King's Navy to be constructed at this spot (the Bombay Dockyard) They intended to have sent out an European builder, but the merits of Jamshetjee being made known to their lordships, they ordered him to continue as master-builder."

This is all past history which reads like romance to-day. How the change came or was brought about, how interests clashed between England and India leading to the furtherance of the one and the dying out of the other—are known to every close reader of modern history and have also been at times referred to and dwelt upon by several speakers and writers in recent years. We can, therefore, at once come to the conditions existing to-day.

Mr. Sarabhai N. Haji, M.L.A., of Bombay, to whom the gratitude of the country is due for having zealously devoted himself to the cause of Indian shipping, has rightly said of India,

"A country set like a pendant among the vast continents of the Old World, with a coast line of four thousand miles and with a productiveness of numerous articles of great use, unsurpassed elsewhere, is by nature meant to be a sea-faring country."

But that is not the case to-day.

Mr. Haji continues:

"If you look at the map of India", "it will show

that long railway journeys are, in some cases, necessary to travel between two points which could be more easily reached within a few hours by means of water transport."

But this water transport is lacking, nor are the ports necessary for the purpose developed. Though this has been to the serious disadvantage of India, whose commercial and industrial prosperity has suffered, the relegating of the numerous smaller Indian ports to the destructive effects of Nature has been of much benefit to non-Indian interests. It is easy to see how the absence of water transport has been profitable to the Indian Railways, which are either British-owned or controlled by the Indian Government, which is a subordinate branch of the British Government. It has helped the Indian Railways to monopolise the carrying trade, to be immune from the danger of competition in the matter of the fixing of rates, and, as has been so often complained by the Indian traders and industrialists, to be free, by preferential treatment, to further the interests of British business and to correspondingly hamper those of Indian business. The possibility of indigenous competition in the event of the development of smaller ports has also induced the foreign shipping companies to be "content to make large profits by catering for big ports and to leave the small ports to the mercies of natural forces". These foreign companies also materially help their respective nationals in the exploitation of the country by facilitating the export of raw materials and the import of finished products. Besides, as was pointed out by Lala Harkishan Lal in his evidence before the Fiscal Commission, these steamship companies by giving preferential treatment to foreign exporting houses as against the Indian ones dissuade the latter from this important branch of business. How Indian industries have suffered can be seen from the following single example given by Mr. Haji—

"Cement from Porbander was allowed to be sent to Madras and Calcutta only after transshipment at Bombay, thus adding about Rs. 6 to the price of cement per ton."

If Britannia rules the waves, the British shipping companies rule the large seaboard of India. And strongly consolidated in their position as they are, they are determined, under the connivance of the Government and with the patronage of some of the Indian railways, which "grant low or preferential rates on condition that the goods are shipped

by a particular non-Indian line of steamers" and of the several powerful British traders in India, to maintain the *status quo*. Any Indian enterprise that may venture to come in their way is strangled to death by the operation of the most pernicious system of the deferred rebates and by the initiation of a most unscrupulous rates-war. Describing his personal experience, the late Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar once said :

"When I was a young vakil, a company was formed to run ships between Tuticorin and Colombo. As soon as the company started business the British India Steam Navigation Company lowered their rates for passengers from Rs. 12 to Rs. 9. The new company tried to keep pace with this. The British India Steam Navigation Company reduced the rate to Rs. 6 and from Rs. 6 to Rs. 3. My friend Mr. Cotelingam, who is sitting at the other end of the table, says that they even carried passengers free. After having done this, after finding that the new company was not able to compete with them in this rate-war and after having effectively killed the new venture, they again returned to the old rates. It did not affect them very seriously, because for years they had accumulated capital and they could fall back upon that capital. But the poor new concern came to grief. It is to prevent a repetition of this that I want a minimum rate to be fixed."

The system of the deferred rebates also operates most seriously against new companies. According to this a percentage of the freight paid by a shipper is returned to him after twelve months if during that period he continued to ship his goods by the same company and not by any other. Thus the shippers are held in perpetual bondage, and the new companies cannot consequently secure business. This system has been declared illegal in America, Australia and South Africa and also in some respects in Germany, France and Austria. If the system was found dangerous in those self-governing countries with national governments, how very ruinous it must be in a politically dependent country like India? Within the last thirty years about twenty shipping companies have been formed with an aggregate capital of about ten crores of rupees, but most of them have met with untimely death, being as they were, as Mr. Haji has pointed out,

"unaided by Government, directly or indirectly, sometimes even positively hampered by various Government agencies, without the moral support of legislative enactments and in face of colossal opposition organised *solely* with a view to destroy."

The two or three that have survived and persisted are not yet in a convincing position of security and stability. But to add insult to injury, in spite of this most daring spirit

of enterprise shown by the Indian capitalists and businessmen in entering and investing in this business against all heavy odds, even the mildest protest against the existing conditions calls forth from the established foreign concerns the angry retort that Indian capital is shy and so if they were to withdraw from their welfare work in this country its industrial interests would suffer. How India's interests are being furthered now may be understood from the fact that over fifty crores of rupees are year after year drained away from the country on account of the shipping trade being in the hands of the foreigners. It may be added in passing, that in spite of their huge profits the foreign shipping companies had been till lately left outside the operation of the income-tax laws of India. Even now the assessment of the income-tax is very difficult on account of these companies being registered abroad.

Another way in which India has been suffering through an absence of a national mercantile marine is that an important field of work has been closed to her nationals. As subordinate sea-men and lashkars, of course, Indians have in large numbers found employment on account of their docility and low wages in the British companies, but the high and responsible posts are not for them. Indians have thus remained excluded from a field where, as the romance of sea-voyages shows, there is a great scope for adventure, enterprise and courage, all of which redound to the credit of a nation. The absence of an Indian marine has also led to the neglect or rather the omission of marine, which is a most useful and fascinating subject of study, by the Indian Universities from their courses of study.

Such are the conditions to-day, and so they are likely to remain unless a spirited and a determined effort is made to improve them.

Following an agitation which has at last been started to some extent in the country over the question, the Government of India appointed a few years back a committee called the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee to recommend how to develop an Indian mercantile marine. The Committee submitted its report in 1924, making some very important recommendations, which have however remained very conveniently ignored by the Government. Among other things in recommending the repeal of the Indian

Coasting Trade Act of 1850 this committee, which was presided over by Capt. E. J. Headlam, CMG, D.S.O., ADC., RIM, Director, Royal Indian Marine, and which had as a member Sir John Biles, KCIE, LL.D. DSC, Consulting Naval Architect to the India office; observed :

"We are of opinion that in the interests of the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine it is necessary to close the coasting trade of this country to ships belonging to the subjects of foreign nations."

Many of those who are interested in the continuance of the present state of affairs urged before the Committee that Indian officers and engineers were not available for the Indian Marine and so all that was wanted were facilities for their training. But to this often-repeated suggestion for an unending period of training and apprenticeship the firm answer of the Committee is :

"It is our considered opinion that the provision of facilities for the training of Indian officers and engineers alone is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the case and that some further steps are required to achieve the object in view. These further steps, we recommend, should be in the form of the eventual reservation of the Indian coasting trade for ships the ownership and controlling interests in which are predominantly Indian."

The Committee added that for the fulfillment of those conditions a ship should conform to the following conditions:

- (1) registered in India
- (2) owned and managed by an individual Indian or by a Joint Stock Company (public or private) which is registered in India with rupee capital, with a majority of Indians on the Directorate and with a majority of its shares held by Indians.
- (3) management of such company is predominantly in the hand of Indians.

The Committee observed :

"It is not possible at present to provide that the officers and crews should be completely Indian, because it will take some time under our training scheme to produce the requisite number of Indian officers and engineers, but in our coastal trade regulations which follow provision has been made for the compulsory Indianisation of the personnel. Nor is it possible at present to provide that the ships applying for licenses should have been built in India, because no ship-building yards capable of constructing ocean-going steam vessels exist in the country, but we hope that in course of time it will be found practicable to add both these desiderata to the conditions of the license."

It is significant to note here that the recommendations of the committee were unanimous but for the feeble dissentient voice

of Sir Arthur Froom, a member of the Committee and a partner of Messrs Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co.—a British shipping company which would be vitally affected by the policy of coastal reservation. Sir Arthur felt the unconvincing nature of his assertion that "reservation will lead to an inefficient service and also high freights due to the absence of any fear of competition," and appealed imploringly at the end "that the carriage of the trade should be left free at any rate to all British-owned ships, with which I include Indian-owned, flying the British flag."

In order to give effect to the policy of reservation Mr. Sarabhai. N. Haji, M. L. A., has recently put forward a proposal in the form of a Bill, which will shortly come before the Legislative Assembly and which, though modest, is a very practical and comprehensive one. The Bill says that for a company to get the license for coastal trade a proportion of not less than 20 per cent of the tonnage licensed for the first year, not less than 40 per cent of the tonnage licensed for the second year, not less than 60 per cent of the tonnage licensed for the third year, not less than 80 per cent of the tonnage for the fourth year, and all the tonnage licensed for the fifth and subsequent years shall have the controlling interest therein vested in British Indian subjects.

As could have been expected, the Bill has raised a storm of angry outbursts from the vested interests and it has indeed stirred up waters in the European commercial circles to an unprecedented extent. Arguments like— it is a measure aimed at expropriation; it will be a breach of international agreements to which India (of course, official India) is a signatory; it will bring unrestricted competition or will result in a shipping ring with exorbitant rates; it will mean loss of foreign tonnage to India; it will be uneconomical in operation; and the like, have been brought forward one after the other in one breath. Even Government officers have forgotten their position in excitement and joined in the uproar. Mr. D. H. Boulton, I.C.S., indeed felt no hesitation in presiding over a meeting of the Tuticorin Port Trust in which the Bill was criticised and denounced.

Yet it is the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee itself which has emphatically observed that "the coastal trade of a country is regarded universally as a domestic trade in which foreign flags cannot engage as a

matter of right but to which they may be admitted as an act of grace." It may be added that, even leaving aside the several other countries where the policy of reservation has been adopted, so far as the British Dominions themselves are concerned the important principle has been admitted that the policy regarding their coasting trade was only to be guided by local interests, and that Australia has not been slow to take advantage of this recognised principle in resorting to reservation, even thereby violating the spirit of the British Merchant Shipping Act. Even Great Britain herself, before she had attained her present supremacy, had to resort to a similar policy by enacting her well-known Navigation Laws. Other countries like America, France, Italy, Japan and Turkey have enforced this principle of reservation in their coastal trade.

Apart from the question of principle, none of the criticisms advanced against the Bill is seen to hold water on unprejudiced examination. Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, having nothing better to say, took pains to show that by including the French and Portuguese ports in the Indian coastline the proposed measure would involve a breach of the international convention of maritime ports to which India is a signatory and that in the alternative their exclusion from the act would lead to a diversion of trade to those foreign ports. But as has been pointed out by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,

"In the first place, the Maritime Ports Convention does not apply to the question tackled by the Bill. Even if it be otherwise, the French and the Portuguese have no rival interests to be affected by the passage of the Bill. They have themselves reserved their coastal trade for their own vessels; and it should not be difficult for the Government on the above grounds to come to a working arrangement with them. If, however, they prove to be recalcitrant, it is open to the Government of India to retaliate with a land customs cordon raised round their possessions in British India. Even if we are obliged to drop the French and the Portuguese ports out of the scope of the Bill, the diversion of trade is only an imaginary danger, as there is no reason to apprehend that reservation would lead to monopoly and such rise in freight as to make it more than profitable to send goods through their ports."

It may be further submitted in this connection that the international convention referred to relates merely to the access and use of the facilities provided by ports, and then again it provides exceptions in the case of reciprocity and coastal reservation.

Mr. Haji has indeed torn to pieces each and all of the howling criticisms hurled against the proposal, but the most painful thing to notice is that India should be told by a set of selfish and interested people, who owe in fact all their wealth, power and position to the ungrudging hospitality and generosity of this land, that she should be careful to begin by getting a few of her nationals trained at a time year after year, of course under the kind patronage and with the sympathetic goodwill of the present traders, and then, after thus having at command an army of officers sufficient to man the entire mercantile fleet necessary for the Indian coastal trade, to think ambitiously of having a mercantile marine of her own. And all this she is told barefacedly on her merely making a modest proposal—modest, because she asks for nothing else—for the progressive, not immediate, enforcement of a policy of reservation in her coastal trade, a policy which has the sanction of international history and usage. Other countries have, however, not considered the reservation of coastal trade sufficient for the purposes of developing a national mercantile marine. France, for instance, which has a much smaller sea-board than India, pays over rupees fifty lacs to her national shipping in subventions and subsidies in the form of construction bounties, navigation bounties, equipment bounties, fishing bounties, mail subventions, payment of Suez-Canal dues, construction loans, and preferential railway rates. By means of a liberal grant of constructive bounties, navigation bounties, mail subventions and the like, in addition to the policy of reservation of the coastal trade, the Japanese Government have not only succeeded in making Japan the third naval power in the world as recognised by the recent Washington Agreement, but have also helped the development of the mercantile marine from a fleet strength of hardly two scores of steamships owned and run by two companies struggling for existence about the year 1870 to a fleet strength of 3561 steamships with a gross tonnage of 4,010,381 tons and of 14,902 sailing vessels of 899,233 tons in the year of grace 1927 in the course of about half a century. And what about Great Britain herself? Till not very long ago her Navigation Act of 1651—which was repealed in 1854 after she had attained an undisputed supremacy in the sea had kept

her coastal trade reserved. And besides, British Shipping has received and still receives state-aid in various forms, like—appropriation of Naval Reserves, Admiralty subventions, Government loans at low rates of interest, Mail subventions, Colonial subventions, Indian subventions, etc. Thus in different forms state-aid amounts to over a million pounds in the year, to which the Indian exchequer has also to contribute.

As a last stroke of inspiration it has been pointed out to the obstinate Indian agitators that considering the small profit available in the shipping business Indian capitalists would not take to it. To this again the obstinate agitators would say that already crores of rupees of Indian capital have been invested and lost in securing a footing in this business which is in the firm grip of some powerful monopolistic foreign concerns. And besides it would seem that the British shipping companies engaged in the Indian coastal trade have been doing pretty well for themselves. The British India Steam Navigation Company have been paying for the last 25 years on the average a dividend of 9 per cent per

annum, besides absorbing another 9 per cent in reserves.

But then India is India and what other countries may have done or may be doing she need not necessarily do—is the angry retort; and the Indian agitators are bluntly reminded that "the brutal truth is that, on such an issue, Argument is subordinate to Power. The Legislative Assembly may pass Mr. Haji's Bill. The Council of State, almost certainly, will throw it out." Why not add that the Government of India in any case under the thumping domination of the Imperial Government must necessarily reject it?

But poor Mr. Haji would still persist in reminding his countrymen that

"At this very moment there is going on along the Indian coasts, a tragic drama in which rates are cut, hindrances organised, agencies withdrawn and intimidation employed, all with a view to reach immediately the climax in the final extinction of the Indian competitor. To prevent the tragedy being played to its very end it is absolutely essential that, in view of the indifference of the Government of India, the Indian Legislature should come forward to succour the weak who are their kith and kin."

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY AT RANGPUR

By JYOTIRMOY DAS GUPTA

RAJA Ram Mohun Roy spent some part of his life at Rangpur. But unfortunately even up to this time nothing is known in detail about his sojourn there. In fact, inspite of the continued efforts of the Brahmo Somaj, the early life history of the Raja is not known in any detail, and some of the facts which are known are still uncertain for want of sufficient proofs. It is only after he settled in Calcutta that the life history of this great reformer is known with sufficient accuracy. It is a well-known fact that Raja Ram Mohun Roy took service under the East India Company, who were the rulers of the country at that time. But in what capacity he began to serve the Company and how long he was in their service, is still unknown. Every one interested in his life knows that he took service under Mr. Digby

who served as collector in Rangpur and in other places as well, but nothing is known about his first appointment in the Company's service and nothing particular is known about this period of his life. In more than one book I have found that Raja Ram Mohun Roy was at Rangpur for about ten years, but there is no proof of that statement. There is also a tradition that many documents can be found among the old records of the Rangpur Collectorate which may contain important information about the Raja's life. A few months ago, at the request of the Brahmo Somaj, I searched the record room of the Rangpur Collectorate to see whether any document can be found which may unveil a chapter of his life. Here I cannot lose the opportunity of thanking Mr. S. N. Gupta, I. C. S., Magistrate, for having granted me

permission to search the record room. I was fortunate enough to gather some letters which are published below. From these letters, as well as from other facts, I could gather that Raja Ram Mohun Roy served the East India Company at Rangpur for nearly two years. His name could not be found in the officers' list of Rangpur Fouzdari Court, which was sent to the higher authorities on the 1st May, 1809. So it is certain that he came to Rangpur after that date. It is highly probable that he arrived there at the beginning of September that year. Mr. Digby stated in his letter (*vide* letter No. 2) that Ram Mohun Roy served as *Sheristadar* for a period of three months and we know that he was promoted to the post of Dewan on the 3rd December, 1809 (*vide* letter No. 1.) So it is certain that he came to Rangpur at the beginning of September and served as *Sheristadar* till 3rd December—a period of three months. Whence he came to Rangpur is not known yet. Mr. Digby came to Rangpur from Bhagalpur. The truth of this statement can be established from a travelling bill found among the old records searched. He took charge of the Rangpur Collectorate on the 1st August, 1809 and Ram Mohun Roy soon after joined him there. It is known that Raja Ram Mohun Roy served under Mr. Digby alone. If it be so, then it may be that he too came to Rangpur from Bhagalpur. But there is no mention of the Raja's service at Bhagalpur by Mr. Digby in the letters No. 2 and 4, where he mentioned the name of Jessore only. Here I quote a passage from "The Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy", edited by the late Sophia Dobson Collett.

"Now it is at Rangpur that popular tradition chiefly connects the name of Ram Mohun Roy with Mr. Digby; but as Mr. Digby was previously at Ramgurh (1805 to 1808) and Bhagalpur (1808 to 1809) and Ram Mohun mentions in his evidence in the Burdwan lawsuit having resided at Ramgurh, Bhagalpur, and Rangpur, it is highly probable that he was working under Mr. Digby in the two former localities before he went to Rangpur although we have no details as to the successive posts which he then occupied."

So we find that this passage is also in favour of his coming to Rangpur from Bhagalpur. If it be a fact, then it is difficult to understand why there is no mention of the Raja's service at Ramgurh and Bhagalpur by Mr. Digby in the letters No. 2 and 4, whereas the service of Ram Mohun Roy as a private *Munshi* in the Jessore Collectorate has been

mentioned. So conclusive proof on this point is still lacking. At Rangpur the Raja's name first appears in a letter dated 30th September, 1809 (letter No. 8), which is also published below. His name is found in the officers' list of Rangpur Collectorate on the 30th April, 1810, as Dewan of the court, but in the list of the next year his name could not be found. This fact is a decisive proof of his short sojourn at Rangpur as the Company's servant. He joined his office here in the capacity of a *Sheristadar* but he also served as a *Munshi* under Mr. Digby in the Jessore Collectorate and most probably in this capacity he entered the Company's service. But for this the records of Jessore Collectorate require to be searched. Where he first entered Government service is still unknown.

Perhaps here the readers will be interested to know that the pay of *Sheristadar* was forty sicca rupees a month, while that of a *Munshi* was fourteen sicca rupees. I doubt whether at Rangpur Raja Ram Mohun Roy as *Sheristadar* filled any permanent vacancy, for before his arrival as well as after his promotion to the post of Dewan, the name of Pertab Narain Ghose is mentioned as *Sheristadar* in several years' officers' lists. Also in letter No. 3 he was mentioned as "*acting Sheristadar*" by the Board of Revenue. However, leaving apart that question we find that Ram Mohun Roy served as *Sheristadar* at Rangpur for a space of only three months, namely, September, October and November (1809). Meanwhile Golam Shaw, who was acting as Dewan, submitted his resignation and Mr. Digby appointed Ram Mohan Roy in his post subject to confirmation by the Board of Revenue. Mr. Digby wrote to Mr. R. Thackeray, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, for his confirmation, but the Board did not consider him fit for the post! Mr. Digby wrote again and in one letter (No. 4) used rather strong language, for which the Board went so far as to censure him. These letters are published below, and I hope that my readers will be much interested to read them. The controversy went on till 16th March, 1810, when the Board sent its final decision to Mr. Digby and ordered him to find some other person fit for the post of Dewan. But on 30th April next Ram Mohun Roy is found to act as Dewan of the Court. About a year later, on the 28th March, 1811, Moonshy Hemachand toollah was recommended to the post of

Dewan by Mr. Digby and this time the Board confirmed him. However, the office of Dewan was permanently abolished and the new system came into force in the year 1814. From all these facts we know that Raja Ram Mohun Roy served in the post of Dewan from 3rd December, 1809, to 28th March, 1811—and as *Sheristadar* from the beginning of September to 3rd December, 1809. The office of Dewan was the highest post that an Indian could then secure and the pay of the post was a hundred and fifty sicca rupees per month.

Some authors state that the Raja settled at Calcutta from Rangpur in the year 1814. If this be true, then I believe that Raja Ram Mohun Roy, having given up his office of Dewan, continued to live there as a private citizen. It is also known that it was at Rangpur that he began to preach his views with enthusiasm. At Rangpur he built a house near Mahiganj at Tamphat about 4 miles off from the Court; but unfortunately it cannot be traced now. Raja Ram Mohun Roy became well known within a short space of time for his religious views. His talents and religious views soon brought him friends and foes alike. At Rangpur Ram Mohun Roy spent money for public good also. A tradition is still current that the big tank near the Court was dug at his cost. It is a well-known fact that he was a great Persian scholar and at Rangpur he became known as a great Maulvi.*

These are the facts which can be gathered at present about the Raja's sojourn at Rangpur and his service under the East India Company. Though his sojourn at Rangpur was only for a short time, yet he became one of the most prominent citizens of that place.

Letter No. 1.

To

R. Thackeray, Esqr.,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

Having in conformity to the order conveyed in your letter of the 23rd ultimo accepted the resignation of Golam Shaw, late Dewan of this office, I beg leave to acquaint you for the information of the Board that I have appointed Ram Mohun Roy in his room, a man of very respectable family and excellent education, fully competent to discharge the duties

* Ram Mohun Roy presented two books written by him (in Persian) to a prominent citizen of Rangpur at that time—the grandfather of the present Naib Nazir of the Dewani Court, but unfortunately they cannot be traced now.

of such an office and from a long acquaintance with him I have reason to suppose that he will acquit himself in the capacity of Dewan with industry, integrity and ability and hope to be favoured with the Board's sanction of this appointment.

Rangpur. I have the honour to be,
Collector's Office. Sir,
The 3rd December, 1809. Your most obedient servant,
(signed) J. Digby,
Collector.

Letter No. 2.

To

R. Thackeray, Esqr.,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 14th inst. I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of the Board that Ram Mohun Roy, the man whom I have recommended to be appointed a Dewan of the office, acted under me in the capacity of *Sheristadar* of the Foudary Court for the space of three months whilst I officiated as magistrate of the Zilla of Rangpur and from what I saw of his knowledge of the regulations, accounts, etc., during that time and during the term of my acting as Collector of Jessore, as well as from the opinion I have formed of his probity and general qualifications in a five years' acquaintance with him, I am convinced that he is well adapted for the situation of Dewan of a Collector's office.

I have also to inform you that Jainarain Sain, the Zamindar of Chochanah, paying an annual revenue to the amount of Rs. 20935-4-6-2 *karas* and Mirza Abbas Ally, an heir of the late Mirza Mohammed Tuckey, Zamindar of Coolaghaut, etc., paying a revenue of Rs. 917-13-3, have come forward as his sureties to the amount of 5000 Rs. A copy of their security I beg leave to transmit enclosed.

Rangpur. I have the honour to be,
Collector's Office. Sir,
The 30th Dec., 1809. Your most obedient servant,
J. Digby,
Collector

Letter No. 3.

To

J. Digby, Esqr.

Sir,

I am directed by the Board of Revenue to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December last and to acquaint you that it appears to them essentially necessary that any person appointed to the responsible office of Dewan should have been for some time in the practice of transacting revenue details and also well acquainted with the regulations and the general system adopted for the collection of the revenue.

The Board, therefore, do not consider themselves authorised to confirm the person nominated by you. They observe that the service performed by Ram Mohun Roy as acting *Sheristadar* of a Foudary Court cannot be considered by them as rendering him in any degree competent to perform the more important duties of a Dewan, which are in their nature so totally different.

The Board under these circumstances desire that you will nominate some person from whose

general knowledge in the revenue department, responsibility and other qualifications the duties vested in him may be expected to be performed with accuracy.

The Board are further of opinion that the security of Dewan should not, if it can be avoided, be persons holding lands in the District of which he is Dewan, as they possibly might practise an undue influence in the District.

Rev. Board,
The 15th January, 1810

I am
Sir,
etc.,

R. Thackeray.

Letter No. 4.

To R. Thackeray, Esq.,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant. I am sorry to observe that the Board pay so little deference to my recommendation as to object to my appointing Ram Mohun Roy Dewan of this office after having given him so favourable a character and relating the very superior qualifications he possessed.

It appears by the first paragraph of your letter that the Board assert as a reason for refusing to confirm Ram Mohun Roy in the appointment proposed that in consequence of his inexperience in the transaction of the business attached to the office of Dewan they consider him incompetent to discharge the duties of it. But I imagined that such objection would have been sufficiently obviated by what I mentioned in my letter of the 30th ultimo as to the knowledge he received of the regulations and of the general system to be adopted for the collection of the revenue when with me in the capacity of a private Moonshee during the term of my acting as Collector of the District of Jessore. Moreover, I cannot refrain from observing that in many instances Dewans of Collectors have been confirmed by the Board who had never been employed in any public office.

I beg leave to refer the Board to the principal officer of Sadar Dewany and of the College of Fort William for the character and qualifications of the man I have proposed.

Being thoroughly acquainted with the merits and abilities of Ram Mohun Roy, it would be very repugnant to my feelings to be compelled so far to disgrace him in the eyes of the natives as to remove him from his present employment, in which I have continued him as officiating in the hope that the character which will be given of him by the natives to whom the Board are referred will induce them to confirm him in the appointment of Dewan of my office, for which, I am confident, he is perfectly well qualified.

With respect to securities, I beg leave to inform the Board that he can procure them from other Districts to any amount that may be required.

I have the honour to be,

Rangpur,
Collector's Office.
31st January, 1810.

etc.,
J. Digby,
Collector.

Letter No 5.

To

J. Digby, Esq.,

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo and to acquaint

you that, as the Board do not perceive any ground contained in it to induce them to alter their former decision respecting the nomination of Ram Mohun Roy to be Dewan of your Zilla, they desire that you will proceed to select some other person for that office conformably to their order of the 15th ultimo.

The Board further desires me to inform you that they greatly disapprove of the style in which you have addressed them upon the present occasion and that, although it would be with much reluctance, the Board would certainly feel themselves compelled to take very serious notice of any repetition of similar disrespect towards them.

The 8th Feb., 1810

I am,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
R. Thackeray

Letter No. 6

To

R. Thackeray, Esq.,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th ultimo on the subject of the proposition submitted by me to nominate Ram Mohun Roy to the situation of Dewan of the Zillah and expressing the displeasure of the Board of Revenue at the style of my address of the 31st of January last.

If under the strong conviction which I felt of the supreme talents, judgment and character of the person whom I recommended to the Board and if under the disappointment I experienced in the rejection by the Board of that person so eminently qualified by talent, knowledge and respectability of character to promote the public interests connected with my office, I have been betrayed into the adoption of a warmth of expression which could bear the construction of disrespect, I sincerely regret the inadvertency and beg you will assure the Board that, far from entertaining any deliberate intention of disrespect, I meant merely to express in a respectful manner my surprise at the rejection of so intelligent a person and to remind the Board of the existence of precedents which would authorise the appointing of persons less entitled to it on the ground of disqualification adverted to by the Board than Ram Mohun Roy.

As the object in the contemplation of the Board is to recommend the [appointment] of an able Dewan, which is essentially in accordance with my own wishes, but at the same time as the Board object to the person I have nominated on the ground of his supposed ignorance of the general system adopted for the collection of the revenue, enforced from his want of practice in the transaction of revenue details, I beg you will do me the honour to submit to the Board the expression of my earnest hope that they will allow me to authorise Ram Mohun Roy to act as Dewan for a few months longer, by which means the Board will be enabled to judge of his real qualifications and of the propriety or impropriety of confirming him in the office of Dewan, though I presume to hope that by adverting to the Toujees and reports of the months of Pous and Magh, in which there was

only a balance of a few rupees, the Board will already be induced to entertain a favourable opinion of his talents and integrity.

Rangpur,
The 18th March,
1910.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. Digby,
Collector.

Letter No. 7.

To
J. Digby, Esqr.

Sir,
I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant and to inform you that the Board are satisfied with the explanation you have given with respect to the style of your former letter of the 31st January.

The Board regret that they cannot with any degree of consistence or propriety make any alteration in their orders of 15th January and 8th February respecting the vacant office of Dewan to your collectorship, and they again direct me to advise that you will nominate some other person to fill that office, subject to the approbation of the Board, instead of Ram Mohun Roy. The Board observe that the punctual realisation of the public revenue is generally deemed a circumstance creditable to

the exertion of the Collector, though at the same time they would not be unwilling to deny the possibilities that some share of that credit might be due to the vigilance and attention of the Dewan. But the Board can by no means admit the argument that favourable Toujees for three months of the year or even for a much longer period alone afford a criterion for judging either of the talents or integrity of the native officer holding that situation.

Rev. Board,
The 16th March, 1910.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. Thackeray.

No. 8.

To

A. Stone, Esq.,
Sub-treasurer,
Fort William.

Ten days after sight be pleased to pay to Ram Mohun Roy or order the sum of sicca Rs. three thousand (s. Rs. 3,000), on which sum a premium of one per cent has been paid into this treasury, without further advice from

Rangpur,
Collector's Office,
30th Sept, 1909.

Sir,
Your most,
etc.,
J. Digby.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE JEWS*

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

BY the Balfour Declaration of 1917, Great Britain agreed to bring into existence, with the aid of the Zionists, a Jewish State in Palestine. Of the many influences which brought about the declaration, perhaps the most significant were, first, the desire of British Imperialists to secure control of Palestine as a strategic protection of Suez Canal; and second, the belief that such a declaration would purchase for the Allies the valuable influence and financial support of the Jews throughout the world.† British statesmen, through secret treaties and later on with the sanction of the League of Nations, secured a Mandate over Palestine, which is virtually a part of the British Empire.

Great Britain has established her supremacy over Palestine not for the interests of the Arabs, Syrian Christians or the Jews, but to promote British Imperial interests. However, among

British statesmen there is some divergence of opinion about the policy to be pursued in Palestine. Ardent Christians, especially missionaries, advocate the policy of favoring the native Christians; some prefer to show partiality to the Arabs, who are by far the largest numerically and who have potential strength in the Near East; while others advocate that the British Government should support the Jews in Palestine and ultimately transform it into a Jewish State—the Seventh Dominion—an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, D. S. O., a Labour Member of the British Parliament, in his interesting volume, "The Seventh Dominion," has discussed the new realtions between the Jews and the British Government. "This book will interest all those who are interested in the growth of the post-war British Empire." In the British Parliament there is already a very influential pro-Palestine (pro-Jewish) committee of seventy members, with a Jew as secretary, to watch the development of the mandate policy in Palestine. Outside the British Parliament, a powerful and energetic English Committee is at work to remove all obstacles in the way of the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, within the British Common-

* This article is primarily based upon Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood's recent book "The Seventh Dominion" published by Labour Publishing Company Limited, London, 1928.

† Moon, Parker Thomas: Imperialism and World Politics, New York, Macmillan Co. 1927, p. 493

wealth of Nations. However, Col. Wedgwood thinks that, much more is yet to be done in this direction and thus he has written the spirited volume. Therefore, it may be said that the "Seventh Dominion" is frankly propaganda literature in favour of the British Empire as well as the Jewish aspirations for a national home.

Col. Wedgwood does not care, as he says himself, even he be charged with being a British Imperialist. He frankly says that by advocating a policy in favor of a Jewish State in Palestine, Britain has nothing to lose, but much to gain. At the very outset of his book he states his position:—

"There are some fourteen million Jews in existence, well peppered over the world; not more than a million are likely ever to be loyal subjects of King George in Palestine, but those that remain in America are better to have as friends than enemies. Those who do settle in Palestine are likely to be of real political and commercial service to the Empire, for Palestine is the Clapham Junction of the Commonwealth. The air routes, as well as the ocean routes, east and west, and south and north, cross here where one flank rests on the Suez Canal and other on the port of Haifa, the natural trade base of Mesopotamia. With pipe-line and railway debouching at Haifa under Carmel, the British fleet can look after the Near East in comfort and safety. Egypt does not want us; we have no friends there, Palestine is emphatically a place where we do want a friendly and efficient population—men on whom we can depend, if only because they depend on us. The Jews depend on us; they also prefer us as the least anti-semitic people of the world *."

Although it is generally asserted by many that the Jews want an independent state, Col. Wedgwood thinks that no responsible Jew will ever object to make Palestine a part of the British Commonwealth, because they know that the protection of the British navy will be of greater value to a small state of Palestine than independence, which might be assailed by various Powers. If Palestine be accorded a real dominion status then it will be really independent and at the same time a source of strength to the British Empire. Col. Wedgwood does not believe that the British Government should confer dominion status now, when the Jews are in the minority in Palestine; but the immediate need is to orient the British policy in Palestine in such a way that the Jews might not prefer the protection of the League of Nations to that of the British Empire. He writes:—

"When the Jews are in a majority in Palestine, and when we confer upon that colony Responsible Government (as we are bound to do, mandate or no mandate, sooner or later), are the new rulers of Palestine to look for protection to the British Empire, or to the League of Nations? With this alternative before them one knows that the British people prefer that Palestine should look to the Empire and the Jews should not be black-balled. As plain realists the British have perceived that moral as well as commercial advantages may well repay and balance the risks of protecting Palestine. But let us be under no misapprehension on this matter; it is possible still to throw Palestine into the arms and under the shield of the League of Nations instead of

into the British Union. The Syrians and Christians of Jerusalem would naturally prefer for their protection a League of Nations which is so profoundly influenced by the Papal Curia. British officials in Palestine can easily make the Jews prefer the League also, if day after day they show that Palestine and the Jews are not wanted inside the British Empire. †"

After exposing the faults of the existing system of taxation, local self-government, labour legislation, agriculture, education, police administration, public works, distribution of crown lands in Palestine, Col. Wedgwood charges that the British officials are in most cases prejudiced against the Jewish rights and interests. He thinks that the only consistent and constructive policy for the British Government in Palestine is to create the "Seventh Dominion". This policy is consistent with the Balfour Declaration, which reads as follows:—

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

The very spirit of the Balfour Declaration is also incorporated in the Article 2 of the terms of the Mandate given to the British Government by the League of Nations, which reads as follows:—

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home—and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine."

One of the first steps towards the creation of a Jewish Seventh Dominion in Palestine, according to Col. Wedgwood, is to create a special Department in the Government of Palestine which will do all that is possible in co-operation with the Zionist organizations to help the settlement and immigration of the Jews. The enthusiastic advocate of the creation of a Jewish State, under the British Empire, regrets that the British Government has not done as much as the Russian Soviet Government has done to encourage settlement of the Russian Jews in agricultural colonies in Ukraine, Crimea region and other parts of the Soviet Republic. He writes:—

"I am prejudiced against the work of the Russians in settling the Jews in the Ukraine because I want the Jews in Palestine... So there are now, at the end of 1926, some 100 Jewish agricultural Soviets, and 60,000 new Jews on the land, planted on from 40 to 50 acres per family of five. The applicants, far from diminishing, now number 30,000 families. Two and half million acres are still available for further settlement if capital for equipment were to hand. Also in 1926 the Government established an autonomous Jewish district in Kherson, of which the population was 85 per cent. Jew. No Englishman, contemplating what the Russian Government has done in this matter, can fail to deplore that his own Government has fallen short even of Russian

* *Seventh Dominion* : pages 2-3.

† *Seventh Dominion*, page 5.

standards. In Russia assistance has been given, capital from outside has been welcomed, settlement encouraged, land found, schools and training and experimental stations paid for. In Russia these Communists, whom we have been taught to despise, have seen that the settling up of men as free men upon free land is in consonance with the interests of the State. Let us hope that we, too, shall learn that lesson, both in Palestine and in England.*

As an advocate of the Seventh Dominion, Col. Wedgwood thinks that the British Government should not court the friendship of the Arabs in Trans-jordan; on the contrary, the Jews should be allowed to settle there. The Jews are superior to the Arabs and after all they are "White men" and they might be more interested in preserving the British Empire than the Arabs, who may in a critical moment follow an anti-British policy. So the Jews should be encouraged to enter into British defence-forces of the Near East. According to him, "The Jews, if not merely because they are white men, yet for their very safety's sake, would be undoubtedly reliable and make much better fighters. A leaven of such men would put a steel frame in the machinery (of Palestine and Transjordanian Frontier Defence Force)."

British authorities interested in preserving British supremacy in Palestine are following a method of communal representation in the Civil Government of Palestine. This is a serious mistake, because it may become an obstacle to the creation of a self-governing dominion. In the light of what has happened in Cyprus, India and other parts of the British Empire where the curse of communal representation has been practised, Col. Wedgwood emphatically suggests that the policy of "divide and rule" through communal representation should not be practised in Palestine. He writes:—

"If we are to make a success of Palestine, the three peoples (Arabs, Christians and the Jews) must grow together, acquiring common interests and a common opinion. Probably the most fatal obstacle in the way of such development, in Palestine as elsewhere, is what is known as communal representation. A national public spirit and communal representation are incompatible."§

* *Seventh Dominion* : pages 99-108.

† *Seventh Dominion* : page 76.

§ *Seventh Dominion*, page 44.

In Great Britain, far-sighted statesmen think that it is worthwhile for them to support the Jewish cause.....Zionist movement.....because the support of the Jews scattered all over the world will be a great gain for Britain to further her interests in World Politics. The Jews *must be used* to promote the cause of the British Empire. Wise Col. Wedgwood, a Labour Member of Parliament, keenly alive to promote the interests of the British Empire, writes:—

"Indeed, though I protest my own disinterestedness, I do conceive that British support for Zionism may not be unconnected with a consciousness that it is useful for Great Britain to have a friendly people just in that corner of the Levant; and, indeed, that it is useful, all around the world, to find in authority men who will probably view English aims and policy with some sympathy. ...Nor is it only men in authority whose help matters. The attitude of friendship of the scattered Jewish race towards England matters, and make a difference to our comfort in the world. The change of attitude towards ourselves, which is going on among the Jews all round the world,"* from Shanghai to San Francisco, ought not merely to add our comfort but to our use in the world. Narrow-minded anti-Semitic and anti-British politicians may not like the British policy of supporting the Jewish cause of Zionism. But all far-sighted statesmen are bound to recognize the fact that British statesmen never neglect to promote their imperial interests by cultivating closer relations with those nations and communities which may be inclined to support British policies. They also exhibit the keen appreciation of the fact that, in international politics no real statesmen can afford to ignore anything which may become a significant factor. The Jews are numerically insignificant, they even do not have a State of their own; but they have a certain economic power and they can help in creating international public opinion. So the British authorities are courting Jewish support internationally, and in return are willing to create a Jewish State... The Seventh Dominion—within the British Empire which will be a source of added strength to it.

All Italics are mine.

* *Seventh Dominion*, pages 126-127.

"MOTHER, INDIA AS SHE REALLY IS"

BY ONE WHO KNOWS

Professor Ernest Wood's Lectures in the United States

PROFESSOR Ernest Wood of England and Madras, India, is one of the best informed and most sympathetic Englishmen who have lectured about India in the United States.

Since his arrival here last winter, he delivered more than two-hundred addresses

and lectures to audiences often consisting of more than a thousand people.

Because of the wide publicity given to Katharine Mayo's book, Prof. Wood deemed it an imperative duty to reach as many people as possible with his first-hand knowledge and experience of India, gathered

during years of residence, travel and study in that land. His remarkable series of lectures covering almost every phase of Hindu life from religion to social and industrial conditions and his most candid and intelligent presentation of the political situation, have brought to the thousands who heard him a broader and more sympathetic conception of India and her people.

Intimacies and incidents of Indian daily life—in the village, among outcastes—among Brahmins, publicists, scholars, and holy men were recounted with a charming directness and sincerity which made a profound impression upon his hearers. Supplemented with interesting slides, illustrating types of people and their activities, these lectures proved most informative.

When the lectures were finished, numerous American and Hindu admirers gave Prof. and Mrs. Wood a testimonial Indian dinner at the Ceylon India Inn.

On this occasion Prof. Wood spoke in feeling terms about India, her present problems, her past and her future. He showed how all through history India had been great when compared with any contemporary country or civilization. This was true with respect to the study of man himself, he pointed out in the mental or moral sciences and also in material progress.

The destruction of the old village communities, indigenous industries and the alienation of the land to moneylenders, he named as the chief causes for the economic depression of India today. Said he:

"The fact is that India has still the old spirit which produced all the material success and prosperity of older times, ready to burst into renewed activity when economic conditions permit."

"India will have to be developed on modern lines by the same means which other parts of the British Empire are adopting, such as Canada and Australia. Sooner or later Britain will have to give internal self-government to India, and put the country on the same basis as other self-governing dominions. It would be better to do it now than to wait for trouble,

which will surely come if things are left as they are. The situation is critical. Though the Indians are racially one with the Europeans they are being forced into the arms of their geographical neighbors. If we do not mind we shall be faced with a pan-Asiatic combination from Yokohama to Constantinople, and perhaps even Cairo. The new Turkey is no doubt an object of admiration to Egypt; Japan is no longer a British ally and Britain has made movements of a somewhat agitating character in connection with the Singapore base. Also the Chinese



Professor Ernest Wood and Mrs. Wood

nationalists are at Peking. Indian feeling is growing very strong as Home Rule is delayed, and a feeling may grow not unlike that which developed in Ireland. India allied with her Eastern and Western neighbours may ultimately form the brain of the biggest combination known to history, and then the day of reckoning for the European in Asia will have come. Let us not drive India to this!"

Mrs. Wood, wife of Prof. Wood and his charming collaborator had many interesting statements to make about the Women of India. Speaking to the American women present, she said:—

"I would like to bring a message from the women of India. They have been so misjudged, so much that is untrue has been said about them. It has been said they are behind the veil, that their interests are confined to the home alone. But in India as elsewhere women are coming more and more into the active sphere of the outside world. Recently there was held an all Indian Women's Conference at Poona at which a great number of women from all over the country gathered and

passed many very important resolutions regarding women's education and child marriage.

"Three times representative bodies of Indian women and men in 1924, 1925, and 1927 have demanded the raising of the age of marriage, and each time the government of India has turned down the application.

"The voice of Indian women is heard abroad in clubs and associations she is seen in numbers at many gatherings and she wields a strong hand in moulding the character of the sons and daughters of Mother India in the home. It is due to a large extent to her influence in the stories she relates to her children that the true ethical and religious thought of India is kept alive. For the East was ever a lover of stories and some of these stories Europe has inherited in all the old favourites.

"So the women of India are standing with their men, as in the days of old when it was thought that not even a god or a great angel could have much power without his 'better half' or his 'Shakti'."

Dr. Sunderland, who presided over the testimonial dinner meeting praised Prof. Wood and his wife, saying that if there were only many more Englishmen of the

type of Prof. Wood, India's political future would indeed be rosy.

Professor and Mrs. Wood have gone to Australia, but will return again to America. Professor Wood's book on India, covering much of the information brought out at his lectures, is now on the press and it is expected to clear up a great deal of injustice and prejudice in the American mind regarding India. A book on Mother India coming from "*One Who Knows*" as an Englishman, will be especially effective when the facts of thirteen years residence and study, a knowledge of Sanskrit and vernaculars are weighed in the balance against the scant 'four months' evidence offered to America in tabloid form by Katharine Mayo.

On behalf of the Hindustan Association of America Mr. Ramlal B. Bajpai thanked Prof. and Mrs. Wood for their great service they were rendering India in America.

Prof. S. A. Baisey conveyed the appreciations and message of several other organizations. Also Dr. V. R. Kokatnur praised Prof. and Mrs. Wood.

FOUNDATION OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

By N. C. GANGULY

[A Chapter from the Author's forthcoming work on Raja Ram Mohun Roy which is to form part of the "Builders of India" series.]

THE activity of the Unitarian Association was in this year (1827) renewed with increased vigour, like the last glow of a dying flame. Its religious services had been suspended for some time owing to various reasons. In Adam's letters of February and October 1826 it was said that Ram Mohun did not "attend anywhere," meaning his joining in Unitarian worship or the meeting of the Atmiya Sabha which had ceased to operate and exist, but at the same time made in his will provision for Adam's family. The reformer was now free from the vexation of law suits, which ultimately vindicated his son's character, and he had consequently time to devote to the advancement of Unitarian worship. The "One Hundred Arguments for the

Unitarian Faith," reprinted in 1826, in the Calcutta Unitarian Press from a copy sent out by the American Unitarian Association, indicated the reformer's unflagging zeal for Unitarianism. He liked it so much that it was published at his own expense and at his own press for free distribution.

Mr. Adam as before acted as the missionary of the Society and conducted his own journal, called the *Calcutta Chronicle*. This periodical was unfortunately suppressed by the Government most unceremoniously some time in 1827. Morning services were resumed in this year, on Sunday, the 3rd August. A room had to be rented for this purpose by the Unitarian Committee in the office of the *Harkara* newspaper and library. Ram Mohun's son Radha Prasad had already offered a site for building a chapel and school near the Anglo-Hindu School. The cost was estimated to be from three to four



"The Trial of Colonel Brereton" by Miss Rolinda Sharples. The Seated Indian Figure near the left-hand corner is that of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, See "Notes."

thousand rupees, which Mr. Adam thought the reformer would be able to collect from his friends. Before this the British Unitarians had sent about Rs. 15,000 to help the Indian work, but the money was set apart for the proposed building and other expenses. Miss Collet says this was Ram Mohun's second attempt to found the Unitarian Church and that it did not go far will be seen from the incidents of the following year. The fact was that the reformer tried to help every theistic effort or movement to go forward towards that Universal Theism which was his own ideal.

An estimate of his religious faith of this period and connection with Unitarianism is furnished by Adam in two letters to Dr. Tuckerman of Boston. One Mr. Tippin enquired through Dr. Tuckerman if Ram Mohun was really a Christian. Mr. Adam replied—

"He is both a Christian and a Hindu—Christian with Christians and a Hindu with Hindus. And before you say I am contradicting myself, or that he is insincere in his religion, you must

candidly weigh all the circumstances in which he is placed...His relinquishment of idolatry is absolute, total, public and uncompromising, while he employs caste property, influence, everything to promote, not the nominal profession merely, but the enlightened belief and salutary influence of Christianity, his claim to be a practical, though not a nominal, Christian would seem to be undoubted. In this point of view Hinduism furnishes the antidote to his own inherent intolerance. The profession of Christianity would identify him in the opinion of the Hindus...with the low, ignorant and depraved converts recently made by the English or long since made by the Portuguese missionaries, and in the opinion of the Mussalmans, who hold him in high esteem, with the Trinitarians generally. In other words the profession of Christianity would, inevitably in the present circumstances of the country, identify him with persons from whom he differs as widely as from those with whom he is now identified.

"You...enquire whether Ram Mohun Roy is a Unitarian Christian or only a Thiest...He permits me to say that failing the male heirs of his own body, of whom there are two, he has bequeathed the whole of his property to our Mission and while he regrets the appearance of ostentation, which this statement may bear, he leaves it to yourself to judge whether he would have been likely to do so, if he did not sincerely embrace

the Christian religion and ardently desire to extend its blessings to his countrymen."

The complex mind of the reformer was thus a problem to his closest friends in India and abroad and it was not unnatural, since few could view things as he did from a vastly comprehensive stand-point. He looked at different faiths from the summit of his own universalism and so far as each had elements of truth he identified himself with it and appeared accordingly Hindu, Mahammadan and Christian. He himself had said just before leaving for England to Nanda Kissors Bose, the father of Late Rajnarayan Bose, that after his death he would be claimed as a Hindu, Mahammadan and Christian by the respective votaries of these religions. It is not new in India for synthetic geniuses to be so claimed, for Kabir is a standing example known far and wide, though in a much smaller measure than Ram Mohun. Miss Collet has significantly remarked, "His impartial attitude towards other faiths was not yet understood by his Unitarian allies". No wonder that a mind of such gigantic calibre and synthetic penetration should be judged like this from the narrow grooves of particular religions, but the truth will ever remain that he rose to that sublime height from which he could easily pick out the universal from the particulars. In the safe estimate of Dr. Macnicol he was the first Indian reformer who betook himself to Christ's teaching. Kabir, Chaitanya, Nanak and Ramananda were not touched by western influence, but Ram Mohun was permeated with the ideal of pure worship in spirit and in truth and an altruistic urge which overleaped the boundaries of race and religion. He found them in his analysis of the gospel of Jesus, partially in the neglected strata of Hindu thought, in fact, in all religions more or less. In him Hinduism, Christianity and Mahammadanism met in an organic unity in order to bring to birth an altogether new conception, viz., the greatest common measure of all religions, which culminated in the Universal Religion formulated by him for the Brahmo Samaj, and it has not been as yet suppressed, nay equalled, by any other human attempt.

Ram Mohun lived among the Hindus like a Hindu, observing externally some rules of the caste system in which he had no faith. The motive was to preserve unimpaired his own usefulness to society which he

wanted to serve. In a letter to Dr. Tuckerman, dated June 24, 1827, Mr. Adam gave a description of what the reformer wanted to do in eating and drinking and family rites—

"This is the only remnant of the rules of caste to which he still adheres, and even this remnant I have reason to know he frequently but secretly disregards.....Both in the marriages and deaths that happen within his domestic circle he rigidly abstains in his own person from every approach to the idolatrous rites usually practised on such occasions, although he does not prohibit the other members of his family from engaging in them if they think proper."

Yet it was a known fact that he was against the tyranny and invidious distinctions brought about by the caste system. His whole doctrine of universal religion was a movement to rise above distinctions and consequently to destroy them. It allowed equal spiritual privileges and opportunities—the same type and quality of Brahma-knowledge to everybody; the rest was therefore a natural corollary. Indeed, caste was extremely distasteful to him not only on spiritual grounds but also from consideration of its evil effects. "He considered caste to be one of the gravest of many ills under which his country laboured." In one of his own letters he expressed his mind clearly and emphatically on this social question.

"I agree with you that in point of vices the Hindus are not worse than the generality of Christians in Europe and America, but I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well-calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes introducing innumerable divisions and subdivisions among them has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise..It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort. I fully agree with you that there is nothing so sublime as the precepts taught by Christ and there is nothing equal to the simple doctrines he inculcated.

This conviction against caste on the part of the reformer was based on the most comprehensive vision of his nation's future. Again it is not simply spiritual as demonstrated in his "Pursuit of Beatitude Independent of Brahmanical Observances"; its implications embraced political and social philosophy. He was the first Indian to point out its disintegrating tendencies viewed from the standard of modern national organisation. He tried first of all to destroy its roots by

means of a spiritual democracy embodied in the Brahmo Samaj and founded on the best teachings of the greatest ancient seers of the nation itself. His effort to infuse Christian idealism into Hindu life and society was one of the strongest desires of his own life, not for the purpose of turning Hindus nominally into Christians, but for conforming life in general to the highest known truth wherever it might have expressed itself. And truth being one, it was only natural for him to look back to those olden times, when India was free from caste and idolatry and those ills of recent growth which he wanted to counteract by means of a synthesis of Eastern and Western idealism.

The true reason for his keeping some vestige of caste in his own life is explained conclusively by J. Young who was a friend of Jeremy Bentham and was in India for some time. It is found in a letter of introduction to the English philosopher bearing the date, 14 Nov. 1830, the year in which Ram Mohun sailed for England. Young said that :—

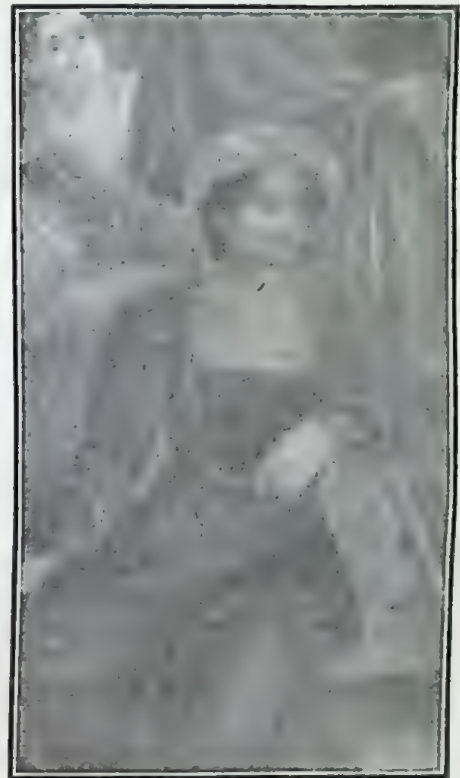
"He (Ram Mohun) has externally maintained so much, and no more of Hindu custom, as his profound knowledge of their sacred books enabled him to justify, relaxing however little by little, yet never enough to justify his being out of the pale. I need to say that in private it is otherwise, and that prejudices of all sorts are duly condemned by our philosopher."

This means that the reformer stood for a steady, firm and continuous progress in this matter, being aware, as he was, of its hold on the people. His programme for his nation was essentially constructive and there might have been in his mind a lurking suspicion of destructive forces being let loose all at once. His criticism of caste was in itself destructive enough in the realm of theory.

His publication of a translation of an ancient Buddhist work in Sanskrit, *Bajra Suchi* by Mrityunjayacharya indicates Ram Mohun's keenness on the caste question. It was published by the reformer in 1827 with the original and its translation and it showed the futility of the caste system. The object of printing a work of this character was evidently to prove that the attitude of the ancients was similar to the reform movement inaugurated by him. It gave him support from the past as well as connection with it and showed that his was not a destructive propaganda against the existing social organisation and subversive of the accepted

beliefs of the people. It was only reviving what had been lost in course of time. Further, it illustrates anew Ram Mohun's readiness to borrow thoughts and arguments and even books from any religion, Mahamadan, Buddhist or Christian if only thereby he might purify Hinduism.

Yet he was not a mere eclectic, for he was fired with the vision of an organic unity of all truth, religious, political and social and of the whole body of human knowledge which made it. He looked at everything from all points of view and through all its



Portrait of Ram Mohun Roy in the Picture of the Trial of Colonel Brereton

ramifications, that led him to examine and adopt what was suitable to the building up of an ideal society as far as possible.

In the same year he brought out his pamphlet on the *Gayatri*, the most ancient theistic formula of the Hindus, under the title of "*Divine Worship by means of Gyuttree*," in which the very essence of worship is laid down based on this hoary text. Those who have considered him a simple Deist and nothing more may find fresh materials in this small treatise for the

revision of their hasty judgment. Dr. Farquhar is one of those who also have made this mistake, through inadequate acquaintance with the writings of the reformer. This mistake is also unfortunately of the same type as Mr. Parekh's confusion pointed out elsewhere and indicates a tendency which often interferes with scholarly interpretation of truth. To the following year (1828) belongs "*The Answer of a Hindoo to the Question; why you frequent a Unitarian place of worship instead of...the Established Churches?*" It was on the line of the "*Answer to Four Questions* of 1822, yet positive in its arguments and bears the mark of dissatisfaction with polemics as well as the close of his polemical writings. A sentence in it shows, like one in the Brahmanical Magazine, that he was mentally soaring far above the narrow ruts of religious and sectarian differences and distinctions. The negative side of the cross-questionings directed to him from time to time made him say—"I feel weary of the doctrine of God-man and Man-God, frequently inculcated by Brahmans in pursuance of their corrupt traditions: the same doctrine of Man-God, though preached by another body of priests, better dressed, better provided for and eminently elevated by virtue of conquest, cannot effectually tend to excite my anxiety or curiosity to listen to it." In fact, priests, whether the destitute Brahmanical or the well-groomed Christian, had little attraction for him nor had the doctrines on which they lived. But his own criticism did not end with this assertion. He took it up in his own words—"ideas in the Western and Eastern heathen mythology—and showed the parallelisms in Divine appearance "in the form of a party-coloured kite" and "on another occasion in the bodily shape of a dove." It tended according to him "to bring the Deity into ridicule under the shield of religion". Similarly Christian Trinity and Hindu Tri-Theism called Trinity by him were both rejected. He said "the mind which rejects the latter as a production of fancy cannot be reasonably expected to adopt the former".

His main reason in attending Unitarian worship is given below—

"Because the Unitarians reject polytheism and idolatry under any sophistical modification and thereby discountenance all the evil consequences resulting from them. Because Unitarians profess and inculcate the doctrine of Divine Unity—a doctrine which I find firmly maintained both by

the Christian scriptures and our most ancient writings commonly called the Vedas".

Miss Collet observes that "the *Answer* simply amounted to saying that in a Unitarian place of worship he heard nothing of incarnation, union of two natures, or Trinity both doctrines which he regarded as only a variant of anthropomorphic and polytheistic mythology of popular Hinduism". And indeed he made no secret of it in the Brahmanical Magazine which after the three *Appeals* sets forth his theological views on these points. It is a wonder that in the face of such statements, innumerable as they were scattered all over his writings, there were efforts made to prove him a Christian or a Hindu after the particular bias of the writer. Ram Mohun left no point undiscussed in regard to which there could be the least doubt or misunderstanding as to his estimate of Hinduism and Christianity.

In the meantime a Unitarian service in English was begun in the hope of increasing and strengthening the Unitarian Committee and its life and work. This move in August 1827 did not produce the desired result. In November of the same year an evening service on similar lines was tried and proved a failure. Both were very indifferently attended and had little practical support from avowed Unitarians. The evening attendance fell from 80 to almost nothing in a short time. The proposal to erect a chapel for regular service in the Bengali language similarly failed, as was bound to be the case in the face of such lukewarm sympathy from those who were supposed to be supporters of Unitarianism. There was strong sentimental objection to the very idea of conducting services in Bengali instead of English. The vernacular was unfortunately considered unfit for any respectable use and in Adam's own words their plea was that "anything said or written in the Bengali tongue will be degraded and despised in consequence of the medium through which it is conveyed." Only classical languages, such as Sanskrit and Persian, could command respect in the eyes of the people together with English, the language of the rulers. Yet the Brahmo Samaj services succeeded quickly, and almost at once, probably because of the tincture of Sanskrit scripture reading. This tendency on the part of the educated people, illustrated in a positive contempt for the current dialect, revealed the significance of Ram Mohun's efforts to

encourage the use of the spoken language and to raise it to a literary status which the "panditic" adaptations and the "sahebi" translations of the Fort William College would not give to it. It was in reality a landmark in the History of Bengali Literature which has found a new career opened before it ever since the days of the greatest Indian reformer.

Mr. Adam was now forced to take to a different method of rallying round him the loose combination of the Unitarians that was gradually dwindling into nothingness. Its cohesiveness required strengthening and deepening by some means at this critical juncture. On the 30th December, 1827, he asked the Unitarian Committee to re-organise themselves into a more comprehensive body by connecting their association with the Unitarians in England and America. His proposal was somewhat of an affiliation, so to speak, "intended to deepen the esprit de corps" and to bring about a closer unity of all Unitarians in the world. The "more complete organisation"—to use Adam's own language—was called the British Indian Unitarian Association. It was probably under the auspices of this body that he started fresh lectures on the First Principles of Religion in order to make up for the lack of attendance at the regular services. This too did not fare well, though the discourses were given "for the exclusive benefit of the natives... in the native part of the city", i. e., in the Anglo-Hindu School of Ram Mohun. He used to have about twelve to twenty-five to hear him and after some time scarcely even one. The reformer himself could never attend because of pressure of multifarious duties. This sorry state of things discouraged Adam to such an extent that he proposed that he should be sent to Madras on a missionary tour. Ram Mohun had to oppose it on consideration of available funds and the importance of Adam's presence in Calcutta, which led the Committee to stop it as the only possible alternative.

There was perhaps some suspicion, if not doubt, about Christian connection with Unitarianism or whether the name Christian

could go along with the word Unitarian, and this may account for the next step taken by Mr. Adam in resuscitating his declining congregation. A separate group, described as Hindu Unitarians, was being formed to function with the Unitarian Association in an auxiliary capacity. Adam helped it to grow and to act in its own way. Ram Mohun called himself a "Hindu Unitarian" until the Brahmo Samaj was started and his followers also imitated him in this. In a



Ram Mohun Roy
[From the Second London Edition (1834)
of his "Precepts of Jesus."]

letter dated 5th February, 1828, Adam wrote to J. Bowring of London.

"I am endeavouring to get the Hindu Unitarians in Calcutta to unite in forming an Association auxiliary to the British Indian Association and for the establishment of the public worship of One God among themselves.....To prevent prejudice from being excited, it will be necessary to keep Christianity out of view at present in connection with this auxiliary, but it will be (what perhaps may not be nominally) an auxiliary to our views and a highly valuable one too, if I can succeed in creating the necessary degree of interest to begin and carry it on."

It was evidently Adam's last hope that this subsidiary body might revive the smouldering embers of Unitarianism in Calcutta and the Hindu and the Christian sides might ultimately coalesce together and Christian

principles might be introduced and prevail in the long run. But that the Hindu side became prominent in consequence of some lurking objection to, or natural lack of interest in the Christian side is beyond doubt and consequently needs no elaboration. The Hindus under Ram Mohun's leadership were feeling their way forward and developing a line of their own. The service for the Indians was consequently discontinued, as Adam reported in one of his letters to Dr. Tuckerman, dated 2nd April, 1822. He said:—

"Since then I have been using every endeavour in my power to induce Hindu Unitarians to unite among themselves for the promotion of our common objects, and I am not without hopes of succeeding, although I have a great deal of apathy to struggle against."

The common object spoken of is of course Unitarian worship, or the worship of one God, which Adam wished to add something of Unitarian Christianity. But in about the middle of the year 1822, Mr. Adam found that there was nothing for him to do in Calcutta. His congregation did not come to the service, his lectures were unattended, he had no place in the Anglo-Hindu School, and no prospect ahead of operating in any capacity, in any probable avenue in the city. Unitarianism had entered a blind alley and he had to face the failure courageously. He asked the Unitarian Committee to suggest some possible mode of service in which he could possibly engage himself in return for the money received by him, otherwise he saw no reason why he should draw his salary without any task assigned to him. The Committee was similarly at a loss to point out any suitable opening for him and Adam had to resign his post and retire "heart-broken."

It has been suggested by Miss Collet that Adam was "balked by Ram Mohun's autocratic will," equally in his connection with the Anglo-Hindu school and in his endeavour to move to Madras. The reason is not far to seek, though it is to be added that the reformer did not wilfully or maliciously thwart the efforts of his friend and convert. The mind of the reformer was reaching out unsuspected and unnoticed to something profounder than the activities of Adam and the Unitarian Committee, and the smaller was naturally engulfed by the greater. He had seen that Unitarian Christianity did not do for his friends who breathed the atmosphere of his spiritual realisation. The burning passion for a God unlimited by human

definitions yet recognised by all and the unsatiable hunger for a religion comprehending all types of spiritual experience could not be satisfied with Unitarianism alone any more than with any other of the religions in the field. They were for him, whether it was Hinduism, Christianity or Mahammadanism, like chemical re-agents which yielded the tested resultant of universal religion. The truth lay in this fact as illustrated by subsequent events. He was pressed onwards by the growing demands of his mind which was at this time surcharged with mighty spiritual explosives gained from long study and living experience, until presently the flash-point for explosion came through the influence of his friends. Like a pent-up volcano he was waiting with throbbing expectation to give out the fire that was consuming him within—a fire that changed his country and his nation in innumerable ways for good within a score of years. He was not simply groping after something apart from Unitarianism or Vedantism or Sufism vaguely and unconsciously; it was the dearest and the most vital gift he had to make to the world, for it was, above and beneath them all, yet subsuming them within it together with every kind of known faith.

On a memorable day the required psychological moment arrived when Ram Mohun was returning from one of the Unitarian services which he attended "with his sons, distant relations and two disciples, Tarachand Chakravarty and Chandra Sekhar Deb." On the way Tarachand and Chandra Sekhar said to the reformer, "What is the need for us all of going to a foreign place of worship? We ought to establish a place of worship of our own." These two "young disciples complained of the necessity of attending a Unitarian place of worship in the absence of one entirely suited to their views and principles. Ram Mohun took this complaint to heart". In fact this appealed at once to him—who was waiting for it so to speak—and he consulted his friends Dwarka Nath Tagore and Kali Nath Munshi of Taki and others on the admirable proposal, which in Miss Collet's opinion was the germ of the Brahmo Samaj. A meeting was called by the reformer in his own house in order to proceed with the matter in a systematic way and to discuss the pros and cons. Those who joined the meeting were Dwarka Nath Tagore, Kali Nath Munshi, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Mathura Nath

Mullick of Howrah. They promised to advance this great object by every means in their power. Chandra Sekhar Deb was charged with the duty of negotiating the purchase of a piece of land on the south of Siva Narayan Sircar's house in the Simla locality but the place was not considered suitable and it also meant the immediate building up of a house. A house belonging to Kamal Lochan Basu on the Chitpore Road in Jorasanka locality was selected and rented from the owner. Here the meeting for worship was established on the 20th August, 1828 and the spiritual idea of the reformer found its actual embodiment. This little band of seekers after truth became on this day, as if by the touch of the magic wand of the wizard, a regular community breathing an independent life of its own and having an objective existence apart from the originator and founder.

The meeting was held every Saturday in the evening from 7 to 9 P.M. The elements of the Service were recital of the Vedas reading of the Upanishads, discourse on the Vedic texts read or recited and hymn-singing. Two Telegu Brahmans recited portions of the Vedas, Mahamahopadhyaya Utsavananda Vidyavagish used to read from the Upanishads, Mahamahopadhyaya Ram Chandra Vidyavagish explained the Vedas by means of sermons. "Kisto" and his brother "Bistoo" sang hymns mostly of the reformer's composition,—a Mahammadan "Golam Abbas" by name accompanied with instrumental music. Occasionally Mohammadan and Eurasian boys sang persian and English hymns. Tarachand Chakravarty was its Secretary. Many orthodox Hindus presented themselves at such meetings for worship. Both Utsavananda Vidyavagish and Ram Chandra Vidyavagish were Ram Mohun's converts. The former discussed Vaishnavite philosophy with the reformer before his conversion, and the latter's case is already well-known. Both illustrate Ram Mohun's superb power of bending and conquering the best Brahmanical intellects of the day. The inaugural sermon by Ram Chandra Vidyavagish was on the spiritual worship of God and it was a fitting piece of philosophical exposition; "his text, which was taken from various parts of the Hindu Scriptures, read God is one, only, without an equal in whom abide all worlds and their inhabitants. Thus he who mentally perceives the supreme spirit in all creatures acquires perfect equanimity and shall be absorbed into

the highest essence even unto the Almighty." This sermon was translated into English by Tara Chand Chakravarty and was sent by the reformer to a friend, Capt. A. Froyer, with the remark that "it exhibited the simplicity, comprehensiveness and tolerance which distinguish the religious belief and worship formerly adopted by one of the most ancient nations on earth and still adhered to by the more enlightened portion of their posterity."



Stapleton Grove now

Miss Collet has observed that "theshare which Unitarianism had in the birth of the Brahmo Samaj was distinctly majestic, not maternal" and that "it was upon the ruins of the Unitarian Mission that the new Theistic Church was reared." On a superficial view this statement does not seem to need any qualification whatsoever, but the remark just quoted above of the proclaimer of Brahmoism when considered together with the trend of his thought in his various writings, will surely reveal another side of the mind which was busy with creation and construction. Perhaps it will be more scientific to say that Hinduism, Christianity and Mahammadanism stood in a catalytic relation to the Universal Theism formulated and established by Ram Mohun. Eclecticism is not at all the character of the truth he worked out. His was just the opposite process—a process that consisted in more than mere juxtaposition and conglomeration of religious ideas from all directions. It was a synthetic analysis going to the rock bottom of religious experience itself and its organic character, which depended on the very evolution of religion in the consciousness of humanity, was stamped by him with the mark and colour of individuality; what he gave to the world was the highest and the most

universal conception of religion—a type of theism free from the moorings in books and customs, personalities and traditions. An achievement of this kind is a discovery of the greatest value to the ever-advancing spirit of man. Theism before him was either the Monism of the Vedanta in the East or Unitarianism of Christianity in the West. He placed Theism on its own evidences as natural and necessary to all religions since it was the greatest common denominator of them all—their vital essence.

Mr. N. N. Chatterjee's remark that the Service in the Brahmo Samaj was copied from the procedure of Unitarian worship needs examination as well as criticism. It is to be remembered that Ram Mohun had, not in vain, nor for nothing, opposed and shut out Christian doctrine in his Vedic school and Christian influence in the Anglo-Hindu school and coined the term Hindu Unitarian for himself and his friends. He was fully aware of the different orders of worship obtaining in different religions—Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian. In formulating a mode of worship he did not simply take up what he found in Unitarianism, for in Hinduism itself there was the quasi-religious procedure of Hari-sabhas, Kirtans and Kathakatas which satisfied partly the communal instinct of congregational worship if that is simply the point at issue. Text-reading, discoursing, hymn-singing and Sankalpa—prayer were elements that could not have passed unobserved by him. There was also the Chakra-sadhana in Tantric group-culture in his time. It cannot, therefore, be said straight away that he simply imitated Christian worship, knowing as he did, the eight-fold sadhana or spiritual exercise according to the Yoga system and the Vaishnava methods of worship. The five elements of *udbodhana* or awakening, *aradhana* or adoration, *dhyana* or meditation, *prarthana* or prayer and *upadesha* or sermon are enough to illustrate the constructive side of spiritual worship evolved in the Brahmo method. That these purer forms were evoked by the very presence and example of Christian worship is beyond doubt and the principle of adaptation and not grafting, is accounted for by it. The idea that Hinduism had no congregational worship in its theory and practice, and so could not supply the reformer with any data needs modification in view of what is known to obtain among Buddhists, Jainas, Vaishnavas and Saktas.

Ram Mohun did not add and Christianity could not have furnished anything more than the ordinary text-reading, discoursing, hymn-singing, meditating on the supreme spirit as integral parts in a combined form in the whole procedure.

The establishment of the Brahmo Samaj was according to Mr. Adam "a step towards Christianity" and he added "the friendly feeling which happily exists between Christian and Hindu Unitarians should be preserved." A sum of Rs. 500 was consequently recommended by him as a grant from the Unitarian Committee. He also attended their service at times and showed the deepest and sincerest sympathy with the movement. Yet there were in it things that were not and could not be approved by him, since in giving up Trinitarianism he could not by that very fact rise at once to the Universal Theism which was Ram Mohun's objective. In writing to Dr. Tuckerman on 22nd January, 1829, he stated clearly his objection to the Hindu character of the Brahmo service. A portion of his letter bearing on the point is given below :—

"There has accordingly been formed a Hindu Association, the object of which is, however, strictly Hindu and not Christian i.e., to teach and practise the worship of one God on the basis of the divine authority of the Ved and not of the Christian Scriptures. This is a basis of which I have distinctly informed Ram Mohan and my other native friends that I cannot approve."

Mr. Chatterjee says that Adam's eyes were opened as to the far-off aim of the reformer, and though "he and all his associations were spiritually begotten by Ram Mohun" in the language of Miss Collet and were therefore secondary agencies, the difference noted in the letter already quoted is too radical to need any comment. It says, further, with reference to the call on all Unitarians, Christian and Hindu, to organise themselves that—

"Ram Mohun.....supports this institution, not because he believes in the divine authority of the Veds, but solely as an instrument for overthrowing idolatry.....He employs Unitarian Christianity in the same way, as an instrument for spreading pure and just notions of God without believing in the divine authority of the Gospel."

The Brahma Samaj represented and embodied the truth which was rightly described by Adam to be pure and rational Theism without the aid of faith in authority and revelation. This was a tremendous step ahead of the religious thought of the world. In rational thought the reformer was much

influenced by the Mutazalas and the Absolute Vedanta as well as by Locke, Rousseau and Hume, and the Encyclopaedists yet he "was above all and beneath all a religious personality" with his Hindu spiritual nature deepened by the contact with Christianity and Mahammadanism. He tried Unitarianism as well as Vedantism as means to an end—a fact which was interpreted by the John Bull of Calcutta, dated 23rd August, 1828, in its report on the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj as "sliding from Unitarianism into pure Deism." But it has to be noted that "the foreign exotic" did not thrive on the Indian soil and died a natural death. Ram Mohun perhaps diagnosed early its weakness caused by transplantation, while his own mind was rising gradually to the sublime conception of a Universal Religion quite different from mere eclecticism. The Brahmo Samaj was the focus of the reformer's ideal and he made it spread its long arms like an octopus in many directions. Collet has appropriately translated the name "the Society of God," its social implications being indeed deep and pertaining to the ideal itself. It was then indifferently mentioned in the deed of land transaction of 1829 as the Brahmo Samaj, corrupted later on as the Brahmo Sabha in imitation of the Dharma Sabha as a private institution of 1830; compared with the Atmiya Sabha of 1815 it was a mighty achievement of a decided public nature with the clear stamp of a community, in short an organic unity of the highest order, a potential giant that was to shake the whole continent of India in after-years.

The Europeans naturally did not like such free movement of thought on the part of the Indians away from any form of Christianity. The John Bull of Calcutta failed to understand what was meant by the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj. Ram Mohun had already incurred their general displeasure and lost a good number of European friends for his agitation in favour of the liberty of the press. He was essentially a great lover of freedom and could not have helped doing what he did in all spheres of activity, whether religious, social or political. Col. Young in a letter to Bentham portrayed Ram Mohun's position among the Indians and the Britishers of that age—

"His whole time almost has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and vindictive prosecution, which has been got up against the latter nominally,

but against himself and his abhorred free opinions, in reality by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countymen and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of our influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous "black" should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class or rather should pass them in the march of mind. It is strange that such a man should be looked upon coldly, not to say disliked, by the mass of Europeans, for he is greatly attached to our regime.....Not only has he no equal here among his own countrymen, but he has none that at all approach to equality even among the little "sacred squadron" of disciples whom he is slowly and gradually gathering round himself in despite of all obstacles."

Even in face of such cross-currents and under-currents against him and his reforming activities, Ram Mohun's iron nerves knew no discomfiture. The unity of the Godhead



Where the Raja was Buried in the Grounds of Stapleton Grove. Stone marks the spot above the mark

and the brotherhood of man were passions with him and he believed in them with all the warmth of his great and mighty heart. They were not mere intellectual conceptions on which he staked his all including life itself. Whenever he had occasion to speak "of his Universal Religion, he was so much moved that tears came out of his eyes." Hearing of a man who had from a Theist turned an Atheist, he rejoined humourously "and later he will become a beast." This vein of humour was characteristic of him and he could tolerate all types of men. One of his most intimate friends, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, was practically a sceptic who was at the same time closely attached to him and the Brahmo Samaj. He was called by the reformer "a rustic philosopher" in a loving yet good-humoured fashion. Being thoroughly acquainted with the writings of Rousseau

and Hume he knew how strong was their influence on his friend. Miss Collet has expressed the relation between these two leaders of Bengali public life in an expressive sentence as—"thus the master would banter and condemn without alienating an unbelieving disciple." These traits of his character attracted men and the Brahmo Samaj soon drew within its fold a large number of members and a large sum of money to its fund. It went on increasing by rapid strides and became a force in the national life of Bengal. In fact, the intimate friendship and inspiring confidence of Ram Mohun formed the cementing principle of the group, which like the thin end of a wedge successfully cut into the heart of society. It was a striking contrast to the utter failure of the Unitarian Association.

The reformer was much attached to his disciples, as they in their turn fully reciprocated his love. They respectfully called him *Dewanji*, according to the title used by Mr. Digby, for he was not given the title of a Raja as yet, and he affectionately called them *beradar*, a Persian word from the same root as *brother*. Everybody was addressed as *brother* by him as people came to be attached to him. He constantly advised his disciples and helped them to go forward and demanded the strictest discipline from them in every respect. He was equally at times reminded of his own advice by these his intimate friends and followers. An example of this is very well-known. Tarachand Chakravarty once noticed that he gave rather too much time to brushing his hair, which was rather long, and dressing it in usual Mahamadan fashion. At once a line of Ram Mohun's own famous song was quoted to him—"How long will you with care see your own face in the mirror?"—with the caustic enquiry if this was meant for other people only and not for the composer himself. The reformer with his transparent frankness admitted the force of the observation and rejoined, "Ha ! brother you are quite right."

Ram Mohun's dress was thoroughly Mahamadan as it used to be in his days. It consisted of a twisted turban, a long choga and trousers and he insisted that all should come in this dress to divine worship. His opinion was that good and clean dress ought to be used in "God's Darbar", i.e. a meeting where God is present. A member of the Brahmo Samaj was once

warned through another because of attending the service in ordinary Bengali clothes, *dhuti* and *chaddar*. It was an essentially Islamic idea that the reformer tried to introduce but it did not last long. Personally he kept to it throughout his life as is seen in his popular portrait. It had its undoubted utility from the standpoint of cleanliness. His aesthetic taste was evident in matters of clothes, for he never liked to see any one shabby or careless. He walked to the services as a sign of humility before God, but returned in his own carriage. His daily life was accurately punctual in minute details, as all strenuous lives are bound to be. He was a very early riser and always regular in his constitutional walks. In the Indian way he used to get himself oiled and shampooed before his bath every morning by two strong servants, while he read the Sanskrit Grammar, *Mugdhabodha*, in parts day after day. After this he had his bath and breakfast of rice, fish and milk and took nothing till his evening meal. He worked till two and then went out visiting friends. His meal in the evening at about eight used to be in English fashion with Muhammadan dishes.

Another account from Ram Mohun's servant, Ram Hari Das, gives a fuller picture of the ways and habits of the reformer probably in his later life at home. It is reproduced here verbatim—

"He used to rise very early about 4 A.M., to take coffee and then to have his morning walk, accompanied by a few persons. He would generally return home before sun-rise and when engaged in morning duties, Gokul Das Napit would read to him newspapers of the day. Tea would follow ; gymnastics ; after resting a little he would attend to correspondence ; then have his daily bath, breakfast at 10 A.M. ; hearing newspapers read ; and hour's siesta on the bare top of a table ; getting up he would pass his time either in conversation or in making visits. Tiffin at 3 P.M. ; dessert at 5 P.M. Evening walk ; supper at 10 P.M. He would sit up to mid-night conversing with friends. He would then retire to bed, again eating his favourite cake, which he called "Halila". When engaged in writing he would be alone."

But above all he was a truly pious man. His cook who knew him from long and accompanied him to England bore eloquent testimony to his "punctual piety" as "the worship of God was Ram Mohun's first daily work." His religion made him a man of thoroughly democratic ideas as may be illustrated by an incident in his later life.



A RAJPUT LADY
From an old Painting.
By the courtesy of Prof. Sunilkumar Chatterjee.

While walking one morning in Bowbazar, the Central Calcutta of those days, he saw a vegetable-seller, just like those occasionally to be found even now in that quarter, looking for some one to help him with his load, so that it might be placed on the head to be carried to its destination. No man was low in Ram Mohun's eyes and without the least hesitation and with a natural grace, dressed

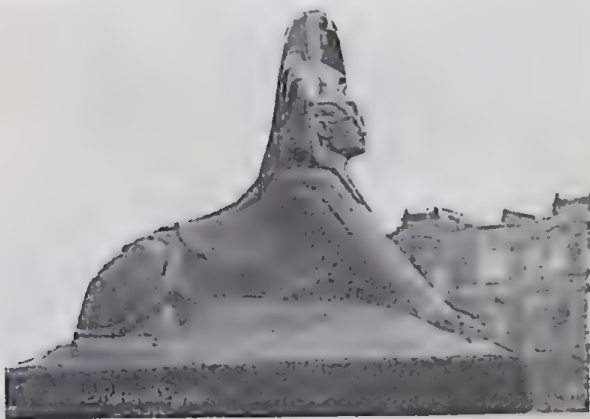
as he was in nice clothing, he advanced and lifted the basket to the head of the man. There were many men taking their morning walk, but how many would have revealed the inward man through such a simple act of kindness—an act such as Wordsworth speaks of—

“—that best portion of a good man's life,
His little nameless unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love.”

THE AWAKENING OF EGYPT

By EDWARD ASSWAD OF CAIRO

THE inauguration of the monument representing the Awakening of Egypt has been celebrated in the most sumptuous way in the centre of Cairo Station Square, in the presence of His Majesty King Fuad I, His Excellency the High Commissioner, the Members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps, the Senators and Deputies, the Ulema, the Dignitaries of the Churches, the Under Secretaries, the Senior Government Officials and Senior Officers of the Army and Police forces and other notabilities, who enjoyed one of the most pleasurable meetings ever held thus to contemplate the unveiling of the statue of the Egyptian Liberty.]



Egyptian Liberty

The garden surrounding the statue had been closed in with tentwork richly decorated with Egyptian flags and the Royal insignia. Rows of chairs were placed to accommodate the many guests invited to take part in the ceremony, also a throne for the King was put in the middle of the centre tent exactly

facing the statue. His Majesty was received by the Prince and Nabils, the Prime Minister and the other members of the Cabinet, and when he was seated, His Excellency Mostafa El Nahas Pasha read a speech felicitating His Majesty and the nation upon this important occasion and the recognition of a talented Egyptian artist. An ode, specially written for the circumstance by Ahmed Bay Shawky the Poet Laureate, was then recited by a member of the Department of Public Instruction, after which the wrappings were removed from the statue which was greeted with applause and enthusiasm.

The statue is an allegory symbolizing modern Egypt as a woman throwing back a heavy veil from her face and touching with her magic hand the head of a sphinx stretching its paws in preparation for new activity. It possesses simplicity, force and intellectual significance, discarding superficial realism for the clarity of essential truth.

Seen in its true geniality of rosy granite, bathed in Cairo sunshine, it has more than one reflection of the astounding relics of the Eighteenth Dynasty, of for example, the features of the young Tut Ankh Amen.

Those heaps of stone carried from Assuan to form one solid rock at the gateway to the Capital of the land of the Pharaohs, do but mark Egypt's claim for her ancient glory which had long been acknowledged in the early times.

Year after year, Egypt will retrieve her losses which she sustained in the past, through the development of art and industry and by pursuing the realization of her aims with a view to acquiring a remarkable standing among the modern states.



America Spreads its Wings

You can leave Hadley Field, at New Brunswick, N. J., just outside of New York city, at 12:15 in the afternoon, be in Chicago at seven o'clock, rush westward through the night down a pathway



From the Canyons that Lead North from Battery to the Sky-scrapers that Line the Chicago River is 1000 Miles but just a comfortable Afternoon's Ride. Hopping off from Hadley Field alights in Chicago in Time for Dinner or continues the right to San Francisco at 4 p. m. Next day

of light, see the sun come up somewhere around Cheyenne, hop the Rockies at daylight and drop into San Francisco around 4:00 p. m., Pacific coast time, or seven o'clock, New York time.

That path of light across the sky which guides the mail through the hours of darkness is one of the marvels of the age. At twelve landing fields alone six billion candlepower is used in the beacons that aid the ships to land.

An accident on any regularly established airway is a rarity. The insurance companies have r-



Start for a Light at Hadley Port. The Beacon of the Port is to be noted

cognized this fact by amending their policies to pay the same benefits for aerial accidents, on regular commercial routes, as they do for death meet in such ways as falling downstairs in your own home, slipping on a banana peel, or being run down by an automobile.

Growing Precious Stores

Growing precious stone that are more perfect even than nature can make them, and finally producing a gem that will be entirely new, is the task that George Everett Marsh, chemist by night and picker by day, has set himself and his associates, E. Menzel and Frank E. Challis.

These gems are not imitations, but are "grown" from the very substances nature uses to create her own rubies and sapphires, and these substances are made into one crystalline mass, called a "boule," perhaps weighing as much as 100 carates. There are only two gems which Mr. Marsh does not make. He can make the diamond, but at such high cost that the natural jewel is cheaper.



Mr. Marsh inspecting the Flame through a Shielded Telescope.

The other gem which is not made is the emerald. It is easy enough to obtain the raw materials for emeralds, but the element which contains the green coloring for the crystal invariably turns red under the heat necessary to fuse the substances.

The success Mr. Marsh has had in making synthetic stones is largely the result of his application to a hobby. For twenty one years he has worked in his laboratory at night. Three years ago he finally conquered the ruby and the sapphire, and now they have become regular commercial jewels which may be had in almost any jewelry store in the country.

After eight years of patient effort, the sapphire was successfully analyzed and not a trace of cobalt was found. The color was due to the presence of a very small percentage of ferric oxide and a form of titanium. That was the real



Uncut Jewels with Set and unset, which were Grown in the Basement Laboratory from Chemicals



James Basset, French Scientist, who has developed Process for making Diamonds from Coal. Intense Pressure is employed to effect Crystallization

birth of the synthetic sapphire so far as its chemistry was concerned. The equipment consists of a high-temperature flame produced by ordinary gas and oxygen, directed vertically downward

onto a small rod of aluminum oxide which is used as a pedestal on which to grow the stone. To conserve the heat, Mr. Marsh invented a cylindrical shield of alumina, insulated with asbestos. He now has decided to abandon the asbestos because of its shrinkage under the terrific heat—2,050 degree centigrade—to which it is subjected.

The raw materials for both sapphire and ruby are alumina and the oxides—ferric for sapphires and chromic for rubies—which must be of the

highest possible purity. The mixture of the raw materials must be absolutely uniform. Ruby material is prepared by dissolving alum of the highest purity in distilled water, adding a quantity of chrome alum to provide the chromic oxide. The amount of chrome alum to be added depends entirely upon the depth of the color desired. Every color and shade has its own chemical composition and its own characteristic set of internal strains under crystallization.

CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE

BY SANTOSH BIHARI BOSE, L. AG.

Agricultural Station, Visva-Bharati.

THE term co-operation is very elastic, especially, when it is applied to Indian Agriculture, because there are so many factors that govern it, that it is a long way off, at present, to reach its goal in the truest sense of agricultural co-operation, which is found now-a-days in some of the most advanced western countries. There are at present, so many links to be united together, that it is not practically feasible to tackle all the problems, at a time, to attain its end.

Now let us pause for a moment, and ponder over the whole situation. The first question that arises, that who are the producers, and who are the consumers? What are the relations that exist between them? How and to what extent, these relations are maintained? What do the producers think at the time of preparing their cropping schemes?

The distance between the bulk of consumers, and that of the producers is far and wide. The consumers try to get the best and the cheapest thing and thus to bargain themselves; while the producers want to fetch the highest price for the produce of the soil at the expense of the consumers. Thus there is really a tug-of-war between them. Each one tries to bargain at each other's expense; and that is quite natural.

The consumers know that they are paying too much to somebody, other than the producers, on the other hand, the producers think, that they are getting much less from some body, other than actual consumers. Had there been any opportunity of mutual acquaintances, then the matter would have been compromised to a great extent. The consumers would have asked for a

reduction in prices, to which the producers would have gladly conceded, as the tension between the two parties would have been greatly curtailed owing to the elimination of certain factors, that produce that tension. But these factors are not easily to be removed, especially under the present circumstances, that prevail in our country.

The absence of organisation, good inter-communication, transit facilities, capital, and various other local technicalities in matters connected with agriculture, make these intermediate factors govern the situation uninterruptedly. Both the parties—consumers and producers—pay the penalty, which both of them resent. Under such circumstances, the producers—naturally get back, and reduce the total acreage under cultivation—producing only that much as is required for local consumption generally. Thereby curtailing, to a considerable extent, the extra supply for the great bulk of consumers, that live far and wide from them. Neither party is thus benefitted.

By merely meeting the ordinary demand of food, other amenities of life are not attended to, which are generally met at the expense of exchanges of the produce of the soil. On the other hand, owing to the paucity of supply of produce in the market, and the subsequent high price, the consumers are compelled to curtail other necessary daily expenses, just to meet the daily rations of any food any how. Now the question naturally comes, where lies the solution of the problem?

There is an eliminating factor that governs the purchasing power of the consumers, who can purchase much less than is actually

required for consumption. In other word, he can restrict his budget. But the producer invests something for which he wants a fair return, otherwise that would be a loosing concern. Consequently, he must try to find out something that pays him. It is, of course, possible to fix a price, but it is not possible to make the customers pay that price. Mr. W. M. Jardine of the United States, Department of Agriculture, has truly remarked that there is practically no agricultural commodity, which is so essential for human existence that substitution cannot be made for it, at least in part, and this possibility of substitution destroys any effective arbitrary control of price over a period of time.

It is often said that the Indian cultivators are very conservative. It is quite true, as the circumstances compelled them to be so. Now, how would it be possible to make them grow much more in order to meet the demand of the great bulk of the customers? It is quite possible for them to increase both the yield per acre, as well as the acreage under cultivation, provided the question of disposal of the produce is solved.

This can be effected in two ways. Firstly, it can be facilitated by quick and cheap transit etc., while secondly, by making provision for effective storage for a definite length of time. By quick transit, the problem of supply can be solved to some extent; but there is a limit of human consumption, beyond which they cannot go. The consumers cannot naturally overstock their daily necessities. On the other hand, the producers cannot grow each and every crop continuously, as each has got a respective season and for a short time only.

The produce of the soil, either must be disposed of then and there, or to be stored for future consumption in a most effective way. It can be either stored in the shop or at the place of disposal. By effectively storing the produce, the producers can command the market directly at least for a good length of time and thereby getting a reasonable return for their labour and money.

With this end in view, the policy of the

Agricultural section of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Visva-Bharati, has been



Potato Store House—Outside, Sriniketan Farm.



Potato Store House—Interior, Sriniketan Farm.

framed. Some years back, when the Agricultural Farm was first started at Sriniketan, it was the aim of the University to demonstrate to the local cultivators that waste-barren-land can not only produce so many crops (vide *Modern Review*, August, 1926) by following a judicious system of crop rotation, economy in manuring and irrigation, by conservation of soil moisture etc., but, that the produce of the soil, when grown on an extensively scale, can be stored most effectively for the better market in future.

This store-house has been built with the object of storing potatoes of the Visva-Bharati farm, as well as that of the neighbouring cultivators. A nominal fee at the rate of (2) two annas per maund. will be charged for the period of storage, which generally comes to between four to five month—April, May, June, July, August. Visva-Bharati will get Rs. 187-8 as., per annum (300 maunds \times 10 as. at two annas per maund per month for five months) i.e., in the course of two years, the total sum of the cost of the house will be realised; while the individual cultivators

will make a fair profit out of his return by thus storing.

Potato is generally sold at the time of the harvest at Rs. 2 per maund but after storing for a period of five months, one maund of potato will at least, fetch Rs. 5. Thus after deducting an allowance for total shrinkage and wastage in weight during the period of storage, and as well as for house rent, a clear profit of Rs. 2 per maund might be obtained. This is likely to create an incentive for the cultivators to grow more by adopting better methods, and by increasing the total acreage under cultivation.

The following experiment was conducted last year (last season) and the result of the first year is given below :—

ABSTRACT STATEMENT OF THE EXPERIMENT

Potato (grown in the farm) stored 50 maunds in April, 1927. Total loss in weight from shrinkage and wastage,—after five months from April to August, 27, 10 maunds (approximate).

| Months | Difference of temperature (inside room) maximum and minimum-average of 30 days. |
|---------|---|
| (1) | (2) |
| April. | Not systemtically recorded. |
| May. | 4.3. |
| June. | 3.5. |
| July. | 2.5. |
| August. | 2.7. |

| Total loss in the wt. (monthly) due to shrinkage and wastage. | Prevailing local market price per maund |
|---|---|
| (3) | (4) |
| Md. sr. chh. | Rs as. p |
| 0 - 36 - 2 | 1 - 12- 0 |
| 2 - 2 - | 2 - 4- 0 |
| 2 - 33 - | 2 - 12- |
| 1 - 11 - | 3 - 8- |
| 2 - 0 - | 5 - 0 - |

9 - 2 - 2

Remarks

(5)

| | R. | a. | Rs. | as. |
|------------------|-----|----|-----|--------|
| 50 mds. \times | 1- | 12 | Rs. | as. |
| | | | — | 87- 8- |
| 40 \times | 5 - | | Rs | 200- |

The following points were taken into special consideration while storing potatoes.

1. Provisions were made for a free circulation of air in every direction of the room in order to keep the difference of the inside temperature, between the maximum and minimum, within a reasonable margin. The greater the difference, between the maximum and minimum temperature, inside the room, the larger the percentage of loss, owing to certain chemical changes that take place inside the tubers (potato). In other

word, the inside temperature of the store room should be more or less uniform.

2. Tubers were covered with sand during the months of June, July, when the potatoes generally appear. Care was also taken so that heat might not be developed inside the stack.

3. Lime boxes were placed at intervals in the recess of the windows, for serving the purpose of disinfectant, as well as for maintaining dryness inside the room to a certain extent.



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this *Review* or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

Professor Radhakrishnan on Indian Philosophy

DR. B. S. GUHA'S REJOINDER

In the July number of the *Modern Review* X.Y.Z. has reiterated his charges (pp. 61-62) against Prof. Radhakrishnan's second volume of Indian Philosophy. As he wants 'categorical' answers from me; it will be best to take his objections seriatim:

1. X.Y.Z. asks me whether Prof. Radhakrishnan is a medical practitioner and assuming that he is not, argues that consequently he could not have looked into all the volumes of the Br. Medical Journal but must have borrowed the extract from Rai Bahadur Srish Chandra Basu's Introduction to Yoga Philosophy. As I am not a mind-reader as X.Y.Z. appears to be, I cannot 'categorically' say whether Prof. Radhakrishnan looked into every issue of the Br. Med. Jour. or not, but it does appear to me that there is a third possibility which he has overlooked, namely, that without having hunted all the issues of the Br. M. J. and without even turning to Rai S. C. Basu Bd.'s Joga Philosophy it was quite possible for Prof. Radhakrishnan to come across the reference in the course of his vast reading and then have it verified by actual reference to the particular issue of the Br. Med. Journal.

2 and 3. So far as his references to the Sanskrit classics go, as a reference to Prof. R's book will show, wherever sectional and not page references are given, there is no need to mention the particular editions which are quoted unless there are differences in textual readings. When the Professor refers to Vijnanabhiksu's commentary he gives the sectional references and does not mention the editor's name. This is not intended to be a discrimination against Rai Bahadur S. C. Basu, for the author does it as a general rule with regard to all the Sanskrit classics which he uses in his writings. If he turns to volume I of Indian Philosophy X.Y.Z. will find Prof. R. writing—"the bibliography at the end of each chapter is by no means exhaustive. It is intended mainly for the guidance of the English reader" (p. 12).

4. X.Y.Z. argues that because Prof. R. occupies the chair of Philosophy in Bengal's premier University he should have known the Bengali works

on the Vedanta, and imagines the grave situation created by a German Professor of Oxford writing in Latin and not mentioning any philosophical publication in English. I hope X.Y.Z. knows his Oxford where such phenomena take place but I should have been grateful if he had given a concrete instance instead of leaving us to the consequences of his imagination. There is however one slight thing which he has in mind, namely, Prof. R's book has been published by the Library of Philosophy in England and is mainly intended for English students as the sentence quoted above from his first volume will show.

5. It is true that a scholar is supposed to be familiar with the history of the development of his subject and as such the particular views which go to make it up, but if he is expected to know the histories of all statements he comes across in his readings it is certainly expecting too much. Not having more than a general acquaintance I cannot claim to know what passes off as research in Philosophy but certainly the branches of science with which I am familiar will regard any such thing as preposterous. In this particular instance about "Nitrous Oxide" etc., Prof. R. has borrowed with due acknowledgement the passage from William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* (p. 387) where there is no reference to show that it was taken by him from any other writer. How could then Prof. R. be expected to know the indebtedness: if any of William James to the Lahore Journal "Arya" to which Rai Bahadur S. C. Basu is said to have contributed in 1883-84?

6. Lastly, Prof. R's book on Indian Philosophy has been highly appreciated among others by Bertrand Russel, Lord Haldane, Prof. Perry etc., and has won for the subject recognition even in such standard works as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Whether X.Y.Z. considers it a creditable piece of work or not does not impress a layman like myself, specially as his own qualifications to speak on the subject are unknown. If he had the courage to disclose his identity, one could have known the value to be attached to his opinions.

Final Reply of X.Y.Z.

I guess from Mr. Guha's epistles in the *Modern Review* that he is in touch with Prof. Radhakrishnan. If so, he could have saved himself much trouble if, instead of speculating about possibilities,

he had obtained from the professor a simple statement to the effect that he had not taken the extract in question from the Late Rai Bahadur S. C. Basu's "Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy," but from some other publication, which he could have named. As Mr. Guha has not adopted this straightforward course, my suggestion that the professor took the extract from Mr. Basu's book still remains worthy of serious consideration.

I cannot lay claim to the vast reading of Prof. Radhakrishnan and Mr. Guha. But among the small number of publications on some subjects in Arabic, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Panjabi, Pashto, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu etc., which I have read, I have found the passage in question only in two publications, published before Mr. Radhakrishnan's book, viz. the British Medical Journal and Mr. S. C. Basu's book. Hence I have made the suggestion referred to above.

2 and 3. There is, so far as I am aware, only one printed edition of Vijnanabhikshu's commentary and that is published in the Chaukhamba series. I find in Prof. Radhakrishnan's book a reference to Vijnanabhikshu's commentary, p. 451 n. In the foot-note, p. 761, "Prameya-ratnavali p. 8." what does "p" indicate, as "p." generally stands for page?

So far as I am aware, the only printed edition in Devanagari characters, with English translations, of Baladeva's *Gorinda-bhasya* and *Prameyaratnavali* is that by Mr. S. C. Basu. The original Sanskrit texts of these works are also available in Bengali characters. Mr. Guha should have said distinctly whether his friend used Mr. Basu's edition or whether he reads the Bengali script and used the latter.

In foot-note 2, p. 338, he refers to "Baladeva's *Prameyaratnavali*, p. 14." What does "p." mean here? It does not certainly mean page! If it means paragraph, that appears to be a proof that the professor is indebted to Mr. Basu's edition and translation of that work, although he has not acknowledged it.

1. Mr. Guha tries to be humorous at my expenses, and asks me to give him a concrete instance of the kind, *imagined* by me only by way of imperfect analogy. How is it possible for me to give a concrete instance? Prof. Radhakrishnan is *sui generis* in leaving severely alone the philosophical writings in the language of a region in which he occupies the most important chair of philosophy. So I am, I hope, not to blame if I cannot discover another philosopher who has actually been capable of such a unique feat of scholarship and courtesy.

Mr. Guha refers to the fact of the work having been published in England and its being intended for English students. I confess I do not understand what that fact has got to do with exclusion of philosophical writings in Bengali from the work. I wonder whether Mr. Guha can by any possibility mean to suggest that things written in Bengali are *ipso facto* unfit to be used or referred to in works published in England and intended for English students.

Let me add the following with reference to the Professor's neglect of Bengali.

On page 735, Prof. Radhakrishnan writes:— "Thanks to the loving labours of Sir John Woodroffe, the chief of the available Tantra texts are now published." He does not know that most of

the Tantra texts had been published in Bengali script long before Sir John Woodroffe interested himself in the study of that class of literature. Raja Ram Mohun Roy drew the attention of the public to the Tantras, and so did Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu in his Catechism of Hinduism.

On this point I have nothing to add to what I wrote in the July *Modern Review*. I would ask Mr. Guha to consider whether he has really said anything more than or essentially different from what I did. I would remind Mr. Guha of what I have stated previously, viz. that Mr. Basu's views in question were subsequently included in his "Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy," which was published before Prof. William James's work.

A book on Indian philosophy may be "highly appreciated" by distinguished persons who have no special knowledge of the subject and yet not be a creditable piece of work.

Mr. Guha refers only to appreciations of his friend's work but the volume under reference has also not been "highly appreciated," e. g. in *Mind* by Dr. Thomas of London, in *The International Review of Missions* by Prof. H. W. Schomerus of Halle (Germany), in the *Hindustan Review* by Prof. Malkani, and in the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* by Pandit Umesh Misra of Allahabad.

The second volume of the professor's work has been published only recently. So far as I am aware, no new edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica has been published after the appearance of that volume. I do not, therefore, understand how Prof. Radhakrishnan's work (I mean its second volume) could have "won for the subject recognition in the" the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

"I confess I am not a hero like Mr. Guha or his friend the philosopher. Possibly that is why I have taken shelter behind anonymity. But my anonymity may serve one good purpose also viz., my views may be taken for what they are worth, without my name influencing the reader in his judgment in any direction.

X. Y. Z.

EDITOR'S NOTE. This controversy is closed. Editor, *The Modern Review*.

The Highest Mountain in the World

In the issue of the *Modern Review* for August Mr. Satya Bhusan Sen, in his article on "The Highest Mountain In The World" says, "Sometime about the middle of the 19th Century the Trigonometrical Survey of India extended their base of observation to the foot of the Himalayas and from this newly attained base some day between November 1849 and January 1850 they observed a mountain peak at 27°59' 3"N.L. and 86°54' 7" E.m., which on measurement was found to be the highest mountain in the world, for it rose to an altitude of 29002ft. Owing to our ignorance no name was current for this mountain peak. At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society of London held on May 11, 1857 after much discussion the peak was named after Col. Everest, the late Surveyor General of India."

It is not clear whose ignorance the writer means by "our ignorance", and where according to him no name was current for this mountain

peak, but apparently he is supporting these Englishmen who insist on calling the peak by an English name, and justify their doing so by alleging that Indians were not aware of its existence and had no name for it. The desire of Englishmen to call the highest mountain peak in the world by an English name is intelligible, but the support of your contributor who appears to be conversant with such matters is not.

The fact is that before its so-called discovery by the Trigonometrical Survey Party, this peak was well-known, and had, and still has an Indian name, which I believe is familiar even to school boys. And it was not only a peak known in India but also in Europe, and by its Indian name too. It is not visible from Bengal unless one goes to out of the way and not easily accessible places in Darjeeling District, but it is easily visible from the neighbourhood of Kathmandu and other parts of Nepal, where it has always been known as Gauri Sanker. Its Tibetan name "Jomo-Kang-Kar" apparently is a variation of the Indian name. Some years before November 1849, which according to your contributor is the earliest probable time of its "discovery" by the Trigonometrical Survey Party, the German explorer Hermann Schlagentweit had identified this peak with Gauri Sanker, and ever since then it is known in Germany by its Indian name Gauri Sanker; and this name always appears in German maps and books of Geography instead of "Everest". It is the Trigonometrical Survey Party who were ignorant of its being a known peak and having a name, and probably also of its having been identified by an European explorer. Since then their ignorance and mistake has been recognised by competent British authorities who are free from racial bias in such matter. It is long ago that Mr. D.E. Freshfield, Gold medallist of the

Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, and sometime president of the Alpine Club, supported the identity of Everest with Gauri Sanker before the Royal Geographical Society. His paper was published in the Proceedings of the Society Vol. viii, New Series, as well as in the Geographical Journal for March 1893 (It has also been reprinted in his book entitled "Round Kanchenjanga"). Other British books in which the peak's having the Indian name of Gauri Sanker is recognised, on which I can lay my hands at present, are as follows. In Percy Brown's "Picturesque Nepal," there is a sketch map of Nepal in which this peak is named as "Gauri Sanker" or "Mt. Everest". In Arden Wood's Geography for Schools in India (1907) published by Mac Millan and Co. at page 133 this peak is named as "Mount Everest or Gauri Sanker". In Longman's Geographical Series for India, Book II, new edition (1923) published by Longmans Green and Co., at page 104 it is noted that "the loftiest peaks in the world are found in the Himalayas Mount Everest (Gauri Sanker) reaches 29000ft". Some English men, however, still insist on saying that Indians were not aware of its existence, and in giving credit of its "discovery" to the British Officers of the Trigonometrical Survey Party of India. Your contributor, who wants us to gain the credit of the discovery of a still higher peak, has made a bad beginning by supporting them.

The next highest peak in the world which happens to be in the Karakoram range has also been given the English name of "Mount Godwin Austin", after another officer of the Survey of India Department, in spite of its having the local name of "Chageri". If we support these nomenclatures or are apathetic to them, all the classical peaks of the Himalayas will some day have foreign names.

C. C. D.

THE PASSING OF FANNIE GARRISON VILLARD APOSTLE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

Achievement of a Pioneer American Woman In Public Life

By RAGINI DEVI

THE passing of Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard at the advanced age of eighty-three years brings to a close the remarkable career of a famous American woman. July 5, 1928.

Mrs. Villard was the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, the Abolitionist who championed the cause of the abolition of negro slavery in America—and whose name is eternally linked with the extinction of

slavery and a great step forward in the national history of the United States.

Fannie Garrison was born in Boston, Massachusetts on December 16th, 1844. Her early years were deeply affected by the antislavery struggle in which her father for years risked death at the hands of mobs. She shared the liberality and courage of her father and was his spirited and loyal supporter during those trying times.

Among her earliest recollections were those of helping her father read proofs for the "Liberator", his militant weekly, which advocated, in addition to abolition, the causes of women's rights, peace and temperance.

At her father's house Fannie Garrison came into contact with all the leaders of the abolition movement, such as the famous John Brown, Samuel J. May, Wendell Phillips, George Thompson, the English agitator Lydia Marie Childs and others.

During the Civil War she met and married Henry Villard a war correspondent of the New York Tribune who afterwards as president of the Northern Pacific Railroad became a great railroad builder and developer of the trans-Mississippi region.

Mrs. Villard subsequently threw herself into the Woman Suffrage cause, being notable in her appearance before the Legislature and other bodies where she distinguished herself because of her earnestness, eloquence and great beauty.

Later she devoted herself to the cause of peace, founding the Women's Peace Society—an organization based on the non-resistance doctrines of her father, who had been an inspirer of Tolstoi. In 1921 she was a delegate to the conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

She was a member of the committee which made the first appeal for the establishment of Barnard College, New York. She was for several years a director and trustee of the American College for Women in Constantinople. From 1881 to 1917 she was the owner of "The New York Evening Post" and "The Nation". For twenty-five years she was president of the New York

Diet Kitchen Association and for forty-eight years was its manager. She helped to direct the work of the Tarrytown and Dobbs Ferry Hospitals, the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, the Exchange for Women's Work, the Columbus Hill Day Nursery and the Hudson River Musical Settlement.

She is well-remembered by the Hindu residents of New York for her sympathetic interest in India's cause for freedom.

At the funeral services held in her home at Thorwood, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. more than five hundred persons were present. Hundreds of wreaths were sent by her admirers and from many societies with which she had been associated.

In a commemorative address at the funeral services, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes of Community Church recalled that in all her pursuits Mrs. Villard had evidenced the brilliant character of her father, and had possessed the courage to carry through her undertakings. He praised her as one of the most remarkable women of her age in public life, and commended her noble influence upon her two sons, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of "The Nation" and Harold G. Villard, editor of "The Nautical Magazine".

In a notable editorial, the Herald Tribune of New York City paid her tribute as "a notable American with a career covering an unusually wide range of public interests. She gave the best that was in her for others, freely and untiringly. She will be remembered as a potent contributor to many good causes and a high example of disinterested citizenship."

209 Sullivan Place,
Brooklyn, New York City.

IMPERIAL GARDENS

THE GARDENS OF THE MOGULS IN KASHMIR, THE GARDEN OF VERSAILLES IN PARIS,
THE GARDEN OF PETER THE GREAT IN RUSSIA

By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH. D., C.I.E.

I HAVE read with great interest and pleasure the interesting article in the *Modern Review* of June 1928 from the pen of Mr. Arthur R. Slater, F. R. G. S., on "The Gardens of the Indian Mughal Emperors in Kashmir." I had the pleasure of visiting

Kashmir three times, and of visiting the beautiful gardens, a number of times during these three visits. I had the pleasure of visiting the beautiful garden of Versailles in Paris also three times during my life, once in 1889 and twice in 1925. Out of these

three visits to the Versailles garden, I examined it very thoroughly and carefully during my last visit of July 1925. This examination has led me to conclude that this Versailles garden, as it is at present, is an attempt to copy the Kashmir gardens, especially the Nishat Bagh. The Versailles garden may have existed in some form before, but the present form is a copy of the Kashmir garden. There is one difference and that may appear to some a great difference, but I think it is a minor difference. It is this: We have the large beautiful Dal Lake at the foot of the Nishat Bagh and the Salimar in Kashmir. We have not such a large beautiful lake, with its beautiful background at Versailles, but there an attempt is made to copy the Kashmir garden by creating a fine though small artificial lake. The Versailles garden is more extensive and vast, but, after, all, it seems to be a copy of the Kashmir gardens. Let Indian visitors who have seen the Kashmir gardens look carefully at the Versailles garden if they happen to go there, and see for themselves if these observations are correct or not. Let French visitors who visit Kashmir kindly do the same.

Now, it is a far cry from Kashmir to Paris. But, in this case, one has to remember that a great Frenchman M. Bernier visited the Kashmir gardens when he went there in the company of the court of king Aurangzib. It is quite possible, that on his return to France, he may have suggested to some body in office the improvement of the garden at Versailles on the mode of the Kashmir gardens.

Now, I had the pleasure of visiting the beautiful and lovely garden made at St. Petersburg (modern Leningrad) by Peter the Great. I had the pleasure of visiting it as one of the guests of the Russian Academy of sciences which, in September 1925, celebrated its bi-centenary. I take this opportunity to express humbly, but heartily my great gratitude to the Academy and to the Russian Government for their very kind hospitality. Now, moving about in these extensive gardens, I at once saw, that this garden was a copy and a better copy, than

the Versailles garden, of the Kashmir garden.

At Versailles they had not a natural, large, beautiful sheet of water like that of the Dal Lake at Kashmir. Though they tried to make up for that want by an artificial lake, that was somewhat of a drawback. But, in Leningrad, you have a natural large expanse of the sea in front to stand in place of the Kashmir Dal Lake, though the surroundings of that expanse of sea were not so beautiful as those of the Dal Lake. But the Russian garden is on a very large scale. The Kashmir garden may look like an infant before the Leningrad garden, but still the plan and the groundwork are the same.

Now, it is known that Peter the Great, when he tried to raise Russia, held to be a backward Oriental Asiatic country, to the level of an advanced European country, copied several institutions of France and other European countries. Among these, one was the modelling of this garden. But to me, it appeared to be a far better copy of the original Kashmir garden than of the Versailles garden. Can it be that he had heard something of the Kashmir gardens? Can it be that he may have sent some gardener or architect to Kashmir to look at the originals? That is a question on which some investigation may throw new light.

It may be noted here that the Mogul Emperors brought their taste of beautiful gardening to India from the direction of Persia, which is spoken of, by some, as the Home of gardening. The Pahlavi Bundahish of the Parsees gives us a section on a kind of "The Language of the Flowers and plants." Jehangir, who was very fond of Kashmir and who therefore said that he would rather like to lose India than lose his dear Kashmir, was a naturalist and was a great admirer of natural beauty. The gardens of Kashmir owe their beauty to him. I will refer those who want to know something of the visits of this Emperor and other Mogul Emperors to Kashmir, to my paper on "The Visits of the Mogul Emperors to Kashmir (Jour. B. B. R. A. Society vol. of 1917. My Asiatic Paper Part III pp. 1-46.

DISSOLUTION OF HINDU MARRIAGE

By BANKIM CHANDRA LAHIRI

DR. Gour's Bill has raised the question, whether the Hindu marriage can be dissolved. We propose to discuss it in this article.

Narada-Samhita says that as Manu Samhita contained a lac of slokas, it was very difficult to master it, so Narad made an abridged edition of it called Narad-Samhita. Bhrigu also made another abridged edition of that Manu-Samhita, which is now known as Manu-Samhita or his Smriti. So the three Samhitas are virtually of one and the same person, named Manu, and are therefore of equal importance. Manu-Samhita by Bhrigu contains verses to the effect, "Manu knows the real meaning and actions of the Veda and there is no other person who knows so much. Whatever he has said, he has said in accordance with the Veda. Because he possesses all the knowledge."* Kulluka Bhatta says, "Fault cannot be found in Manu's Smriti. It is approved by all great men. It is based on the Veda and it follows Veda,"† Vrihaspati, says, "The superiority of Manu's Smriti lies in the fact that it contains what is described in the Veda and if there be any other Smriti, contrary to Manu's Smriti, it is not entitled to praise." From these it follows that Manu-Samhita is in accordance with the Vedas and that as the Vedas are binding on the Hindus in all Yugas, Manu-Samhita also is binding on the Hindus in all Yuga, Kali Yuga not being excepted.

The said Narad-Samhita contains the oft-quoted verse of "Nashte mrite pravrajit" &c. It means, "When the husband cannot be traced, or is dead, or when he gives up household life, or becomes impotent, or when he is fallen, in these five cases of misfortunes, the wife can take another husband". This verse is immediately followed by four other verses to the effect, "When the husband cannot be traced, then a Brahmin's wife who has a son, should wait for eight years, if she has no son then she should wait for four years, a Kahatriya's wife who has a

son, should wait for 6 years, if she has no son then she should wait for 3 years and a Baishay's wife who has a son, should wait for 4 years and if she has no son then she should wait for 2 years and so on. After that period they should marry other persons.*

We have said before that Narada-Samhita was compiled from Manu's bigger Smriti. So the above verse may be justly described as Manu's. Therefore, Madhabacharya calls this verse as Manu's.† And the reader will remember that whatever is said by Manu is said in accordance with the Vedas. Then this verse and the four verses that immediately follow it are in accordance with the Vedas.

Parashar claims to be the law-giver of Kali Yuga.§ He too has quoted with approval that verse in his own Samhita.** Thus he too lays down, that the rule of that verse should be followed in Kali Yuga also. Narada-Samhita further says that the law prescribed by that verse and by the four verses which immediately follow it was made by Prajapati Brahma. Then Veda, Prajapati Brahma, Manu, Narada, Bhrigu and Parashar are in favour of this law. Narada-Samhita further says that the wives will not commit any sin if they will take other husbands in the cases mentioned in the verse. That verse provides that out of those five cases of misfortunes in four cases the wives can marry again other persons during the life-time of their former husbands. Pandit Golap Chandra Sastri, M. A., B. L., also is of that opinion.††

The present Manu-Samhita by Bhrigu contains the following verses :—

"When the husband lives in a distant place, for purposes of religion, his wife should wait for eight years ; for purposes of education or for fame, she should wait for six years ; and for purposes of enjoyment,

* Narada-Samhita.

† His commentary on Parashar-Samhita.

§ Parashar-Samihita 1-23.

** Parashar-Samhita 4-24.

†† His Hindu Law P,111.

* Manu 1-3 and 2-7.

† His commentary on Manu.

should wait for three years. "After that she should marry another person."**

Although this last sentence is not in the text, yet as the rule is made in connection with marriages, the purport of the last sentence necessarily follows. Specially because in Narada-Samhita the verse is immediately followed by four other verses, describing the period for which the wife of each caste should wait before marrying again another person.

"When the wife, being abandoned by her husband being dead or the husband, or she, of her own accord, marries again another person and gets a son by him, that son is called Purnarvaba (पौनर्वब) son of the second husband. If she is chaste and goes to another person, then that person may marry her and if she abandons this second husband and afterwards returns to him, then *that husband may marry her again.*"†

Vasista provides,

"If the woman be married to one, whose ancestors are not good, or whose conduct is not good or who is impotent etc., or who has fallen, or who has hysteria, or who does whatever he likes, or who is permanently diseased, or who is a false ascetic, or who belongs to his wife's gotra, the woman should be married again to another person." §

Katyayana lays down,

"If the husband be of a different nationality, or fallen, or impotent or who does whatever he likes, or, who belongs to his wife's gotra, or who is slave or who is permanently disabled, then the wife should be married again to another person." **

Maine also is of the same opinion.††

Thus we find that according to the Hindu Shastras, during the life-time of the former husband, his wife can marry again another person in the following cases :—

(1) When the former husband can not be traced, (2) when he gives up household life, (3) when he becomes impotent etc., (4) when he is fallen, (5) when he lives in a distant place, (6) when she is abandoned by her husband, (7) when she of her own accord abandons her husband, (8) when the husband's ancestors are not good, (9) when the husband's conduct is not good, (10) when he has hysteria, (11) when he does whatever he likes, (12) when he is permanently disabled, (13) when he is a false ascetic,

(14) when he belongs to his wife's gotra, (15) when he is of a different nationality, and (16) when he becomes a slave.

Then these Sastras support the view that in these cases the former marriages are dissolved, otherwise the later marriages can not take place. If any one will argue that in all these cases the former marriages are not dissolved, then the conclusion will necessarily follow that the former husbands too will be entitled to conjugal rights equally with the later husbands. Surely, such a law is not sanctioned by our Sastras. Besides, had the contention been sound, then there would have been no necessity of providing that the wife can marry again another person in the cases mentioned above in 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15 and 16. Because, after the marriage of their wives with other persons the first husbands continued as before to be their husbands. Only two husbands were provided instead of one, in cases of these misfortunes of the wives ! That is not intended by the Hindu Sastras.

Had the argument been sound, then there would have been no necessity for making a provision, as we have seen, that the former husband also can marry his wife again in certain cases, * and that when the husband becomes a slave, his right over his wife is extinguished. We shall presently give an example of it.

Besides, the reader will remember that according to the Hindu Sastras, the wife may abandon her husband and the husband may abandon his wife in certain cases. Moreover, the present Manu-Samhita also provides, "If the wife being enraged leaves the house, shut her up or *abandon her in presence of her relations.*" † All these support the argument that the former marriages are dissolved.

Now we shall give some examples which will further clear the point.

Indra, the king of Heaven, could not be traced. The Kshatriya king Nahus was then governing it. He proposed to marry Sachi, the wife of Indra. She replied, "I do not know where Indra has gone or his present condition. If he cannot be traced I will marry you." §

Professor Haridas Bhattacharya of Dacca University says that Saraswati became alter-

* Manu, 9-76.

† Manu, 9-175 and 176.

§ Vidyashagar's Vidhya Vibaha. P. 28 & 29.

** Do Do Do P. 28.

†† His Hindu Law and Usage, P. 112.

* Manu, 9-176.

† Manu, 9-83.

§ Mahavarat, Utjoga Parva, 13-4, 5.

nately the wife of Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwar *

King Yayati was a famous Kshatriya Raja. He had an exceedingly beautiful daughter, named Madhabi. She first married Haryashkya, the king of the Ikshaku dynasty. By him she had a son. Then she left him and married Devadas, the king of Kashi, who was a very pious man. By him she had another son. Then she left him as well and married the famous king Ushinar, who was conversant with all the religions. By him she had a third son. Then she left him also and married the fourth line, the famous saint Maharshi Viswamitra. By him she had a fourth son. Then she left him too. All these persons married Madhavi knowing full well of her former marriages and knowing that those former husbands were still alive and that she had got sons by them. Then king Yayati and his two sons Puru and Jadu wanted to marry her the fifth time in a Swayambara ceremony. But she refused and became an ascetic.† This Puru was the famous king and ancestor of the Pandavas and Kauravas and this Jadu was the famous king and ancestor of Krishna and Balaram.

Radha also married? Krishna while her former husband was alive.

Ram after killing Ravana said to Sita, "I leave you. You can now marry Bharat, Lakshmana, Satrugana, Sugrib or Vivishan."§

We have cited before from Katyayana the authority that when the husband becomes a slave, his marriage is dissolved. Therefore, the well-educated Draupadi raised the question that as soon as her husband king Yudhisthir became a slave of the Kauravas by losing the game of *Pasha*, his right over her ceased. Vidur and Bikarna, a son of king Dhritarastra, supported her contention.**

When king Nala could not be traced, his queen Damayanti wanted to marry again another person in a Swayambara. Hearing the announcement the king of Ajodhya hastened to marry her. Nala also went their in hot haste full of anxiety.††

When Sakya Singha (Buddha) gave up household life, many persons tried to marry

his wife, although she had a son. But she did not consent.*

A merchant of Ujjaini had a daughter named Ishi-Dashi. She was married first to one, who left her to her father's house. Then her father gave her in marriage to another person. He too abandoned her. Then her father married her the third time with another person. But he also left her. Then she became an ascetic.†

In the 18th Century A. D. Baji Rao II was the Brahmin king of Maharastra. He made a social law fixing the marriageable age of girls. After the law was passed, a girl was forcibly married before she reached that age. But the marriage could not be consummated for certain reasons. According to the custom she could not be married again. But the said Brahmin king held that the marriage was invalid and when the girl reached the proper age he married her to another person. §

Even now the Coolin Barendra Brahmins first marry their daughters with bride-grooms, made of Kusagrass, and then marry them with living persons. Even now in the Hindu kingdom of Nepal, which is governed by Manu-Samhita, *marriage is dissolved*, when the husband becomes permanently disabled, or when he resides in a distant country for many years, or when the marriage becomes unpleasant. In these cases the wives are married again during the life time of their former husbands. ** Even now in Bihar and other Provinces, if men of Kahar, Kurmi, Keot, Dhanook, Haluai and of other castes will reside in a distant place for two years and will not support their wives during that time, then the marriages are dissolved and the wives marry again other persons.

All these conclusively prove that the Hindu Marriages can be dissolved.

We have in our Mahabharat-Manjari elaborately discussed it and the widows' re-marriage and all other subjects relating to marriage quoting many Shastras. From all these it is also evident that those, who think that the Hindu marriages are ever-lasting, are mistaken. Notwithstanding these Shastras and these examples, if the Hindu society could last long, notwithstanding the social laws made by the British Raj if the Hindu

* Nabya Bharat 1330, P. 638.

† Mahavarat, Utjoga Parva, Chap. 15 to 120 and Anushashan Parva, 30-16.

§ Ramayana, Lanka Kanda 117-21, 22, 23,

** Mahavarat, Sava Parva, 67-7.

†† Mahavarat, Bana Parva, Chap. 70.

* Modern Review, January, 1923 Page 95.

† Nabya Bharat, 1329, 545.

§ Modern Review, June, 1909, p.565.

** Prabasi, Phalagoon, 1322, p.526.

society could last longer, then the Hindu society will surely last still longer notwithstanding Dr. Gour's Bill. Besides, he wants to legalise what are enjoined by our Shastras. If the Hindu kings of old and the British-Raj now and the Hindu princes of the present day could and can make social laws, what is the harm if our Legislatures will

make them now? Otherwise, is there any chance of any social reform?

If not, then

“ পরদীপমালা নগরে নগরে,
তুমি যে তিমিরে তুমি দে তিমিরে। ” *

* Govinda Chandra Roy.

ESSAYS ON THE GITA*

(A REVIEW)

By MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSH

Sri Aurobindo has, in two substantial volumes, expounded the principles of the Gita. In the first volume he explains principally the first six chapters, and in the second, the remaining twelve chapters of the Gita. Our author considers the Gita to be an organic unity and has tried to defend what he considers to be its fundamental principles. He is not fettered by any creed and has not blindly followed any particular commentator or commentators, or any particular school of Philosophy. He has philosophy of his own and it is akin to the *Visishtadvaita* School of Philosophy. On this basis he has built a magnificent superstructure. In no other book do we find such an elaborate treatment of the subject. One may or may not accept his philosophy or his interpretation; but the essays are thoughtful, suggestive and edifying. His style is charming, exposition clear and defence brilliant.

We have not been able to accept all the conclusions of the author. We may note below some of the points where we differ.

(1) THREE PURUSHAS

Our author has based the metaphysical exposition of the Gita upon the theory of three *Purushas* as described in the fifteenth chapter of the Gita. These *Purushas* are (i) *Kshara* (क्षर); (ii) *Akshara* (अक्षर) and (iii) *Purushottama* (पुरुषोत्तम) XV. 16-18.

The theory of *Akshara* plays a very important part in other parts of the Gita. So it is necessary to understand this theory before we discuss the theory of three *Purushas*.

(a)

It has been described in chapter, viii. In the third verse we find the following:—*Akshara* is the Highest God (अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमम्).

* By Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, First series, pp. 379. Price Rs. 5-. Second series : pp. 501. Price Rs. 7-8 Published by Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta.

(b)

The eleventh verse is about *Akshara*. To understand this verse thoroughly, it is necessary to know three previous verses which may be translated thus:—

“With the mind controlled by continual practice and not wandering after anything else, O Partha, one by constant meditation goes to the Divine Supreme Being (परमं पुरुषं दिव्यम्). VIII. 8.

“He who thinks of the Seer, the Ancient (or the Ancient Seer), the one who is subtler than the subtle, the supporter of all, of form inconceivable, refulgent as the sun, beyond darkness.....goes to this Divine Supreme Being (परं पुरुषं दिव्यम्) VIII. 9-10.

In these three verses *Parama Purusha* (the Supreme Being) is described as the Goal. It is needless to say that there can be nothing higher than the Supreme Being.

(c)

The next verse is on *Akshara*.

“I will briefly declare to thee that state (पदम्) which the knowers of the Vedas call *Akshara* (अक्षरम्), where-into passion-free ascetics enter and desiring which *Brahmacarya* is performed. VIII. 11.

The subject-matter of this verse is the same as that of the previous three verses. He who is called *Parama Purusha* in those three verses is, in verse, 11, called the *Akshara* (अक्षर). Whom do the knowers of the Vedas call *Akshara*? Into whom do passion-free ascetics enter? Whom do *Brahmacarins* desire and for whom do they perform *Brahmacarya*? He is certainly *Parama Purusha* greater than whom none higher is and that *Parama Purusha* is *Akshara*.

(d)

The next verse is the twelfth which describes how that Highest Being is to be obtained. The following is the thirteenth verse:—

“He who reciting *Om*, the one-syllabled-Brahman, and remembering Me, goes hence abandoning

the body, reaches the highest goal (परमां गतिम्).

VIII. 13.

Here the speaker is Krishna and he speaks here as the Supreme Being. So the meaning of the thirteenth verse is that whoso, uttering *Om* and thinking of God, leaves this body, reaches the highest goal.

The following are the next three verses:—

To the man who constantly thinketh on me and never thinketh of anything else, to the Yogi who is ever-harmonised, I am easy to win, O Partha (VIII. 14). Having come to me, these great souls come not again to birth which is non-eternal and is the home of woes; they have reached highest perfection (VIII. 15). The worlds even upto the world of Brahmā, O Arjuna, come and go. But for them who have come to Me there is no birth again. (VIII. 16).

The same Being who is called *Akshara* in Verse 11, is described in verses 13-16 as the goal of life. Who is the Being reaching whom man overcomes rebirth? He is the Supreme Self and He is *Akshara*.

(c)

The next three verses (VIII. 17-19) describe the day and night of Brahmā and the creation and dissolution. At the coming of Brahmā's night every thing is dissolved in the *Avyakta*, i. e., Prakṛiti. The following are the next two verses:—

But there is another existence,—an *Avyakta* higher than that *Avyakta*, eternal, which does not perish when all things perish (VIII. 20). This *Avyakta* is called *Akshara* (अक्षर); it is called the highest goal; they who reach it return not. This is my supreme state (परमं धाम, lit. supreme abode).

When one reaches *Akshara*, one does not return; hence *Akshara* is the Supreme Self. The *Akshara* of verse, 11, is here described as the highest goal. In the following verse (VIII. 22) that *Akshara* is called *Parah Purushah* (परः पुरुषः) i. e., the Supreme Being:—

He, the Highest Being (परः पुरुषः). O Partha, may be reached by unswerving devotion to Him alone in whom all beings abide and by whom all this is filled (VIII. 22).

(f)

In chapter XI, there are two verses on *Akshara*. In verse XI. 18 Krishna is thus addressed: as Bhagavan by Arjuna:—

"Thou art, to my mind, *Akshara* (अक्षर) and the Supreme to be known (or the Supreme *Akshara* and one to be known); thou art the Supreme support of the universe, thou art unchangeable and protector of eternal *Dharma*: thou art eternal *Purusha*." (XI. 18). Here it is said that he who is *Akshara* is the supreme self.

In another place in the same chapter, we find the following verse:—

"O Infinite! O Lord of gods, O Abode of the universe! Thou art *Sat* (i. e. that which is manifest), *Asat* (i. e., that which is not manifest) and that which is beyond—the *Akshara* (XI. 37).

Here *Akshara* is described as higher than the

manifest (सत्) and higher than the unmanifest (असत्). The *Akshara* is therefore the Supreme Self.

(g)

In chapter XII, there are a few verses on Divine worship. In one verse (XII. 1) Arjuna asks Krishna—

"Those devotees who ever-harmonised, thus worship Thee, and those who worship the *Akshara*, the *Avyakta*—which of these are the best-knowers of Yoga?"

Krishna replies:—

"I deem them to be the best in Yoga who with mind fixed on Me and ever-harmonised, worship me endowed with supreme faith (XII. 2).

He then says:—

"They who worship the *Akshara*, undefinable, unmanifested, Omnipresent, unthinkable, *Kutastha* (immutable), immovable, steadfast, controlling the senses, regarding everything equally rejoicing in the welfare of all creatures,—they verily attain to me (XII. 3, 4). But the difficulty of those whose mind is attached to the unmanifested is greater; for the unmanifested god is reached with difficulty by the embodied (XII. 5).

Here *Akshara* refers to the Supreme Self.

In the above verses two paths are compared, viz.—The path of knowledge (*Jnana*) and the path of devotion (*Bhakti*). The path of knowledge is full of difficulties but that of devotion is easy. Those who follow the path of devotion, worship *Saguna* Brahman, that is, an anthropomorphic God, whereas those who follow the path of knowledge are worshippers of *Avyakta*, *Akshara* Brahman. The path of devotion may be easier but that does not mean that *Saguna* Brahman is higher than *Nirguna* Brahman. The author of the Gita has, in this chapter, established the unity of both. In verse 4, Krishna as Bhagavan says—"Those who worship *Akshara* verily attain to me." When it is said that the worshipper of *Akshara* attains to Bhagavan, i. e., God, it is evident that *Akshara* and the Supreme Self must be the same Being.

Again there is a theory in the Gita that the worshipper reaches the object of his worship. The worshippers of the gods go to the gods, the worshippers of the Fathers go to the Fathers and those who worship the Bhagavan go to the Bhagavan (VII. 23; IX. 25). So necessarily the worshipper of *Akshara* must go to *Akshara*. Now when it is said that those who worship *Akshara* attain to the Supreme Self (XII. 3, 4), it is clear that *Akshara* must be the Supreme Self.

We have discussed all the passages relating to *Akshara* and we have seen that in every one of these passages *Akshara* means the supreme self. In some verses *Akshara* is called, Para Purusha or Parama Purusha, that is, the Supreme Purusha (VIII. 8-10, VIII. 22). So *Akshara* is the highest Being and there is no other being which can be higher than *Akshara*.

Now we are in a position to discuss the theory of three *Purushas*.

THREE PURUSHAS

This theory is described in the following three verses.

"There are two *Purushas* in this world—the

Kshara (क्षरः) and the *Akshara* (अक्षरः). The *Kshara* is all beings and the *Akshara* is called *Kutastha* (कूटस्थः) XV, 16. But there is another—the Highest *Purusha* (उत्तमः पुरुषः) called the Supreme Self (परमात्मा), the changeless Lord who pervading all, sustains the three worlds (XV, 17). Since I transcend the *Kshara* and am likewise higher than the *Akshara* I am proclaimed *Purushottama* (पुरुषोत्तमः) in the world and in the Veda (XV, 18).

The above passage is pluralistic whereas the Vedānta is monistic. The commentators have tried to explain this passage monistically and have thereby made the meaning more obscure. Our remarks on this passage are as follow :—

(1) What is perishable or mutable is *Kshara*. Here *Kshara* refers to the material world. The word *Akshara* means the imperishable or the immutable. In the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta and in other parts of the Gita, *Purusha* only is *Akshara*. But strange to say that in verses 16, of the fifteenth chapter of the Gita what is mutable and perishable has also been called *Purusha*.

(2) The *Akshara* (अक्षर) has been called *Kutastha* (कूटस्थ).

The word '*kuta*' means 'heap,' mountain, the summit of a mountain, the highest point, etc. The word *kutastha*, therefore, means 'standing like a heap,' 'stable like a mountain' etc.

This word has been used in two other places in the Gita. In one place (VI, 8) it has been applied to the 'Yogi whose senses are subdued, whose mind is tranquil, and who looks upon a lump of earth, a piece of stone and gold with equal eye.'

In another place (XII, 3) *Akshara* has been called *Kutastha* as well as Ineffable, unmanifested, omnipresent, unthinkable, unchangeable and steadfast (Vide Supra).

So in both these places *Kutastha* means immutable or stable.

In Pali literature the corresponding word is *Kutatha* (कूटथ) and it means 'steadfast' 'unchanging,' 'stable like mountain' etc. (Vide Dighe, i, 14, 56; Majjhima, i, 517; Samyutta, iii, 211, P.T.S. Edition).

If we accept this meaning of *Kutastha*, it can refer only to the Supreme Self and the *Akshara* of verse XV, 16 also would then mean *Paramatman* i.e. the Supreme Self. In that case there can be no being which is higher than *Kutastha Akshara*. We have already seen that this *Akshara* is called *Para Purusha* or *Parama Purusha* (Highest Being).

(3) But in the next verse (XV, 17) we find that there is another *Purusha* higher than *Akshara* and this *Purusha* is called *Uttama Purusha* (उत्तमः पुरुषः) Highest *Purusha* and *Paramatman* (परमात्मा, Supreme Self). This theory contradicts the theory of *Akshara* as found in every other part of the Gita.

(4) Again in the next verse (XV, 18) it is more definitely stated that He the Bhagavan is higher than not only *Kshara* but *Akshara* also. We have

already seen that no other being can be higher than *Akshara*.

Again in the verse, Krishna, the Bhagavan says — "I am proclaimed the Supreme Being (पुरुषोत्तमः) in the world and in the Veda."

This is not true. In no school of the Vedas has Krishna, or Bhagavan or Paramatman been called *Purushottama*. The word '*Purushottama*' is not even found in the Vedas.

In the Chandogya Upanishad, the phrase "*Uttamah Purushah*" (उत्तमः पुरुषः) is used (VIII, 12, 3). But there it does not refer to Paramatman, the Supreme Self, it refers to the Self which, when it leaves this human body, reaches the highest light and appears in its own form.

(5) The fact is that the word '*Purushottama*' is a technical word in the Vaishnava Theology, being a predicate of Krishna, Govinda or Vasudeva. It is frequently used in the Vaishnava literature ancient and modern.

In the Gita, Krishna has been thrice addressed as *Purushottama* (VIII, 1; X, 15; XI, 3). The literal meaning of the word is "the best of men."

In Pali literature the corresponding word is *Purisuttama* (पुरिसुत्तम) and it is an epithet of the Buddha and of those who are on a higher level of perfection (Vide Dhammapala 78; Sutta-Nipata verse 544 and Anguttara Nikaya Vol. V, pp. 325-326, P. T. S.). In the Sutta N. and Ang. Nik. the language is—

Namo te Purisuttama (Adoration to thee, O the best of men). Both the books are canonical and the Sutta-Nipata is one of the oldest of the canonical scriptures and is older than the Gita. This idea and language seem to have been borrowed by the Vaishnavas from Buddhism.

(6) Krishna, the Avatara is called *Purushottama*. This word has two-fold meaning, viz—(i) the best of men (ii) the Supreme Being. Krishna has been placed by the Vaishnavas, even above *Brahman*. According to many Vaishnava theologians, *Brahman* is but a ray of the Body of Krishna.

(7) Now the question is—Is *Purushottama* intra-spatial or supra-spatial? intra-temporal or supra-temporal?

(a) If He be "the Cosmic Spirit in Time" as our author asserts (ii, 270), if he be intra-spatial and intra-temporal, then he is really *Saguna Brahman* who is no other than *Nirguna Akshara Brahman* when it is or seems to be in contact with Maya or Prakriti and who is therefore considered to be inferior to *Nirguna Brahman*. For this idea of *Saguna Brahman*, it is not necessary to postulate the existence of a new Being called *Purushottama* here. From the standpoint of the Gita, every thing can be explained by means of Prakriti and *Purusha* (i.e., the self). Here it should be noted that *Purushottama* is different (अन्यः) from both *Kshara* and *Akshara* (XV, 17).

(b) If *Purushottama* be, supra-spatial and supra-temporal, then also the theory of *Purushottama* is useless—for *Akshara* is such a Being.

So we see that whether the *Purushottama* be considered to be active or non-active, the assumption of his existence becomes superfluous. Over and above this theory contradicts the fundamental principles of the Gita.

The theory of *Purushottama* is, in fact, a Vaishnava cult and is not Vedantic. Our conclusion is

that the original Gita did not contain this passage. If we reject this portion, the Gita will not be mutilated; no other principle of the Gita depends upon this theory or is connected with it; in no other part of the Gita is a similar theory found and in fact, every other principle of the Gita directly contradicts the Pluralistic theory of *Akshara*, *Akshara* and *Purushottama*.

So we may conclude that the verses 16-19 of the fifteenth chapter are interpolations.

Yet this is the theory upon which our author has based his whole super-structure.

(ii) *Prakriti* and *Purusha*—We have not also been able to accept our author's interpretation of the relation between *Prakriti* and *Purusha*. In one place he writes:—

"In the Sankhya, Soul and Nature are two different entities; in the Gita they are two aspects, two powers of one self-existent being (I. 333).

In another place he writes—

"In this highest dynamics *Purusha* and *Prakriti* are one. *Prakriti* is only the will and the executive power of the *Purusha*, his activity of being,—not a separate entity but himself in Power" ii. 8.

But this interpretation of the Gita is fundamentally wrong. The Gita has accepted the dualism of the Sankhya with this exception that instead of many *Purushas* of the Sankhya the *Purusha* of the Gita is one. Gita's metaphysics is dualistic. Both *Prakriti* and *Purusha* are eternal. The *Prakriti* is, according to the Gita, under the influence of the *Purusha* but this fact does not make the system monistic. It should be borne in mind that even that influence is not volitionally exerted by the *Purusha*. The *Purusha* is inactive.

(a)

We, moderns, consider the universe to be organic to God. But there is not a sentence, not a word in the Gita to indicate that its author entertained such a view.

(b)

In the Gita, as in the Sankhya system, *Prakriti* and *Purusha* are antithetical entities. *Prakriti* is active whereas *Purusha* is ever inactive. *Prakriti* is changeable, mutable but *Purusha* is unchangeable, immutable. *Prakriti* has qualities; qualities form the intrinsic nature of *Prakriti*; *Purusha* is without qualities; qualities are extrinsic to *Purusha*. To be attached to the qualities of *Prakriti* means bondage; to be free from qualities means liberation. So *Prakriti* and *Purusha* are altogether different. It is true that the activity of *Prakriti* depends upon the existence of *Purusha*.

But how *Purusha* can influence *Prakriti* is inscrutable. Neither the Sankhya nor the Gita has been able to shew how an inactive entity (*Purusha*) can move another entity (*Prakriti*) to action. It should always be remembered that *Purusha*'s influence is never actively exerted

(c)

Krishna has, in many places, used such expressions as स्वा प्रकृति (svā *Prakriti*, my own *Prakriti*, IV. 6; IX. 8). मे प्रकृति (me *Prakriti*—my *Prakriti*, VII. 4 5). मामिका प्रकृति (māmikā *Prakriti*—

my *Prakriti* IX. 7), मम माया (mama *Māyā*—my *Māyā* VII. 14). But the mere use of the word "my" does not establish a real intrinsic relation.

(d)

In one place Krishna says:—

"The *Mahat-Brahmā Brahman* (i. e. *Prakriti*) is my womb; in that I place the germ; thence comes out the birth of all beings, O Bharata. Of the forms (i. e., embodied beings) arising in all the wombs, the *Mahat-Brahman* is their womb and I their generating Father" XIV 34.

Here God and *Prakriti* are sharply distinguished; one is different from the other. One is Father and the other Mother.

This dualism cannot be metaphorically explained to be monistic. It was and is the Sankhya view which has been accepted by the author of the Gita.

(e)

In another place Krishna says:—

At the end of a *Kalpa* (i. e., world age) all beings enter into my *Prakriti* (प्रकृति मामिकान्) IX. 7.

Here it may be noted that the liberated persons enter into God (IX. 54; XVIII. 55) whereas at the end of a *Kalpa*, all beings that are not liberated enter into *Prakriti*. Necessarily *Purusha* and *Prakriti* are distinguished in IX. 7.

(f)

In another place he says:—

Under Me as supervisor, *Prakriti* sends forth the moving and the unmoving (i. e. everything) IX. 10.

Here also *Prakriti* and *Purusha* are sharply distinguished.

The supervisor must be different from what he supervises. One aspect of God cannot supervise another aspect of His. For example, God is both *Jnanam* and *Sivam*. we cannot say that God as *Jnanam*, is supervisor of God as *Sivam* or vice versa.

(g)

The following verses describe the relation between God and the universe:—

Know that from me are the existences having the nature of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. I am not in them (न त्वहं तेषु): but they are in Me. VII. 12. Bewildered by the natures of these qualities the whole universe knows not me who am above these (मामेभ्यः परम्) and am unchangeable, VII. 13.

The meaning is that the whole universe is evolved out of *Prakriti* through the influence of God. The Universe is therefore said to be in God. But as there is no organic relation between God and *Prakriti*, it is said that God is not in *Prakriti* or in the evolution of *Prakriti*. In verse 13, it is said that God is above or higher than *Prakriti* which means that God and *Prakriti* are different.

(h)

The idea expressed in the above verses is further developed in the following verses:—

"By me, the unmanifest, the whole universe is

filled. All entities dwell in me : but I do not dwell in them. (न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः) IX. 4. "yet these entities are not in Me (न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि), See my divine Yoga. My self, though support and source of these entities, lives not in the these entities (न च भूतस्थः) IX, 5.

The universe is evolved out of Prakriti. But it is evolved through a mysterious influence of God. It is therefore said that the universe is in, or lives in or is established in God. For the same reason it is also said that God is the source and support of the universe. But from this people may erroneously conclude that Prakriti is organically related to God. To dispel this notion the Gita adds these three sentences:—

- (i) God does not dwell in the universe (न तेषु अवस्थितः) IX, 4.
- (ii). These entities do not dwell in God (न च मत्स्थाना भूतानि) IX. 5.
- (iii) God's own self lives not in the universe, (न च भूतस्थो ममात्मा) IX, 5.

If it were said that these expressions simply mean that God is not attached to the universe, our reply would be that even that interpretation would prove dualism. The question of attachment or non-attachment can arise only when there are dual or plural entities.

Had Prakriti and Purusha been organically related, it would have been said that God is in the universe and the universe is in God. It is a definite principle of the Gita that 'to be united with God' or 'to be God' means "to pass beyond the qualities of Prakriti."

स गुणान् समतीत्यैतान्
ब्रह्म भूयाय कल्पते

"Passing beyond the Gunas he becomes fit for Brahman-hood." (XVI, 26).

This means that in Brahman or in the state of Brahman, there are qualities of Prakriti, i. e., Prakriti is outside Brahman.

Discussing all these passages we arrive at the conclusion that Prakriti and God are different entities, that Prakriti is not an aspect of God and that they are not organically related.

(iii) LIBERATION

According to our author Liberation, as described in the Gita, is to live in "unchangeable conscious eternal being of Purushottama" (ii. 241.)

It is doubtful whether consciousness, as we understand it, can be attributed to the Self and God of the Gita. It implies change ; it involves memory, sensations, perception and conception of the Western philosophy and *manas*, *Buddhi*, *Ahankara*, *celanā* etc. of Indian philosophy. All these belong to Prakriti (VII. 4; XIII. 6 etc.) and cannot be attributed to Purusha or the Self. Even our author has been constrained to admit that this consciousness "is something very different from our mind consciousness to which alone we are accustomed to give that name" ii. 331.

About the personality of the liberated Self, our author writes—

"Mark that nowhere in the Gita is there any indication that dissolution of the individual spiritual being into.....absolute Brahman..... is the true meaning or condition of immortality" (ii. 241, foot-note).

Our reply is:—

(i) At least there are two or three passages which indicate that the liberated self is merged in God. The following are the passages :

(a)

"By exclusive devotion to Me" says the Bhagavan, "O Arjuna, I may thus be known and seen in essence and entered (प्रवेष्टुम्), O Parantapa. XII, 54.

(b)

"By devotion he knoweth, in essence, who and what I am" says the Bhagavan, "and having thus known me in essence, he forthwith enters into (विशते into That i. e., Me or God). XVIII, 55.

(c)

In VIII, II it is said that passion-free ascetics enter into (विशन्ति) Akshara.

In the three passages it is said that the Self enters into God. The Self first knows God, then sees him and then enters into Him. Soul's entering into Brahman means 'losing its separate personality and becoming merged in Brahman and becoming Brahman.'

This is not a new idea ; it is borrowed from the Upanishads. In the Prasna (VI) and Mundaka Upanishad (iii 2. 8) it is said that the liberated Self is merged in Brahman leaving behind him name and form as rivers are merged in the ocean.

(2) The word *Brhma-Nirvānam* (ii, 32; V. 24—26) which is the goal of the liberated Self may mean extinction in Brahman.

(3) To prove personal immortality, our author cites three examples. The first is the passage "*mayi nivasishyasi*" (XII. 8). which means "will live in me." It may mean either personal or impersonal immortality, or it may mean a condition before final liberation. His second example is '*Param dhūma*'. This phrase occurs in four places (VIII. 21; X. 12; XI. 38; XV. 6) and means "Supreme abode." This supreme abode is really the noumenal world where the sun, the moon and fire do not lighten (XV. 6). So this phrase does not mean that the liberated Self resides there as a conscious being. It may mean impersonal or super-personal existence or it may mean 'existence as Brahman'. His third passage is the phrase *munayah sarve* from which he infers that all the sages still exist. The whole passage is:—

"I will again proclaim the supreme knowledge, the best of knowledges which all the sages (मुनयः सर्वे) having known have gone hence to supreme perfection" XIV, 1.

Here nothing is said about continued personal existence. "Supreme—Perfection" does not necessarily mean conscious existence.

There are also minor points of disagreement and opinions will necessarily differ. But there are more points of agreement than disagreement. It is not possible here to notice even the important points discussed by the author in these

two bulky volumes. There are 24 chapters in the first volume and 23 in the second. In these 47 chapters the author has discussed all the essential points of the Gita. The students of the Gita will find these volumes delightful and illuminating.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF HARSHA

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THE history of India for the period following the decline of the imperial Guptas and associated with the rise of the later Guptas, the Maukharis, and of the house of Harsha, roughly the period of one century from 500 A. D. to 600 A. D. still bristles with problems and difficulties that remain to be solved. A solution was attempted on a comprehensive scale in a series of articles contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle under the title, 'Some Problems of Ancient Indian History.' A discussion of these problems has been recently revived in one of the Appendices of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's *Harsha* published in the *Rulers of India Series* under the designation of Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1925, and the comments on that Appendix by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, for June, 1928 and in the *Modern Review* for August, 1928. Mr. Banerji credits Dr. Mookerji "with his usual charming style, and attractive mode of presentation for which he is noted." (*Modern Review*) I wish the same could be said of Mr. Banerji's style.

In his treatment of the general history of the sixth century A. D. in his Appendix to *Harsha*, Dr. Mookerji has substantially followed the lines so fully elaborated by Hoernle, after whom he has proposed the following positions on which an Archaeologist like Mr. Banerji should have thrown more light:

(1) 'Was the Malava empire under Yasodharman (A. D. 533-83 circa) and his son Siladitya (c. 583-606 A. D.) a reality?' Mr. Banerji by his silence (*M. R.* and *J. B. O. R. S.*) may be taken to agree to this proposition. If so, I fail to understand how he can't follow Hoernle (and Dr. Mookerji) in their statement that Queen Yasovati, wife of Prabhakara-vardhana, might be taken to be a daughter of Yasodharman. The grounds for the statement are explained fully in the article of Hoernle in *J. R. A. S.* 1903, and also in *Harsha* (pp. 60-61.) The statement is a mere conjecture, and is presented as such, and may be rejected in favour of a superior theory or hypothesis. It is to be understood on the basis of the following propositions, viz., (a) Prabhakara waged a war with Malava and won it (*Harshacharita*, 101); (b) this war must have been waged against Siladitya, then ruler of Malava; (c) according to Bana, "Yasovati's brother presented

his son Bhandi, a boy of about 8 years of age, to serve the young Princes," Rajya and Harsha, sons of Prabhakara. In another place [H.C. 87], Bana refers to Harsha's favourite, "the son of the king of Malava," sitting behind him, and from the context it appears that it must mean Bhandi. Thus the inference is (1) that Bhandi was a prince to attend on the princes of another court, (2) that he was the son of the then king of Malava, (3) that this king, from his date, should be no other than Siladitya of Malava and (4) that he was forced to part with his young son as a hostage for his defeat in the first Malva war by Prabhakara. The deputation of princes to foreign courts seems in those days to have been a usual condition which the victor would like to impose upon his vanquished foe. That is why a political significance attaches to the following statement made by Prabhakara later in *Harshacharita*: "I have appointed to wait upon your Highnesses (i. e., his sons, Rajya and Harsha) the brothers Kumaragupta and Madhavgupta, sons of the Malwa king." Hoernle further supports these inferences by saying: "as her name shows, she must have been a daughter of the Malwa emperor Yasodharman-Vikramaditya." We may compare also such analogous names of brothers and sisters as Harshagupta and Harshagupta, Mahasenagupta and Mahasenagupta, in vogue at that time. Lastly, there is also a passage in *Harshacharita* describing Yasovati as being descended from towering kings (134).

(2) 'The title *Vikramaditya* being given to Yasodharman,' Mr. Banerji knows it is due to the *Rajatarangini* but he condemns that work as "inaccurate," (*M. R.*) because it does not suit his own theory. I do not know if it is stated anywhere in *Harsha* that the title is epigraphic.

(3) 'The Maukharis being not rulers of Kanauj.' This is a proposition which is wrongly attributed to Dr. Mookerji (*M. R.*) by a degree of carelessness which sometime characterises Mr. Banerjee. In a footnote to p. 16 of *Harsha*, Dr. Mookherji refers to the arguments of scholars who hold that the Maukharis could not be taken as rulers of Kanauj. For the flaws or omissions, if any, in those arguments, Dr. Mookherji is not responsible. Those Mr. Banerji should fasten on V. A. Smith who has discussed this view in *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, pp. 771-73.

(4) 'The connexion of an Ajanta painting with the historical exchange of letters between an Indian and a Persian king.' Dr. Mookerji's statement on this subject is extremely guarded: 'a painting in one of the caves at Ajanta *probably* points to this fact (viz., exchange of letters and presents between Khosro II and Pulakesin II) in showing the presentation of a letter from a Persian to an Indian King'. (*Harsha* p. 35). Mr. Banerji need not so proudly parade his knowledge of Foucher's findings on a subject (*M. R.*) on which a contrary opinion has been long held and is still expressed in the fourth edition of V. A. Smith's *Early History* as revised by Edwards. Even Foucher admits that the painting in question shows that "the king gives an audience to foreign merchants who, moreover, seem to bring him presents rather than merchandise," and that, owing to the continuation of the painting being lost, "it is possible that we shall never know what it was all about" [*Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1919-20, p. 79]. He also recognises that the Ajanta paintings do "represent people dressed in Persian costume" and tries to explain the knowledge of this dress shown by the artists at Ajanta by "its nearness to the Western coast of India." Nor does he deny that another painting does represent the landing of Simhala in Ceylon and his conquest of the island, though the painting follows the text of the Divyavadana upon which the Mahavamsa bases its history of that event. Yet it is not possible to demur to the general position taken up by Foucher with reference to the interpretation of the Ajanta paintings that they are not meant to depict directly any secular or historical events but only the events connected with the Buddha in his previous or last lives. A Historian, however, has to refer to all suppositions or theories held on the topics he deals with, though he must clearly state them as such. A difference of opinion on an unsettled point and an opinion that is guardedly expressed (as in the sentence of *Harsha* quoted above) should not trouble even the most carping critic.

(5) 'The expansion of the Gurjaras southwards was checked by Pulakesin II whose suzerainty they accepted' (p. 41 of *Harsha*). Mr. Banerji asks (*M. R.*) 'Can Prof. Mookerji prove that the statement in the Aihole inscription is sufficient to prove this subjugation of the Gurjaras of Broach to the Chalukyas of Badami?' Mr. Banerji finds no difference between acceptance of 'suzerainty' and out-and-out 'subjugation,' and as to the rest, he should find an answer in the passage in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, stating how 'subdued by his splendour, the Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.' (*Harsha* p. 30, fn. 2).

(6) 'The Hindu political system did not favour much centralised control but believed more in decentralisation and local autonomy' (p. 43 of *Harsha*). "This favourite conundrum" (*M. R.*) of Prof. Mookherji does not commend itself to Mr. R. D. Banerji. But Prof. Mookherji has at least sought to support it in an elaborate treatise approved for the Clarendon Press by V. A. Smith and Dr. A. B. Keith. May I also in this connexion refer Mr. R. D. Banerji to the pages of Mr. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* dealing with *paura* and *janapada* assemblies and other local self-governing institutions of Hindu India?

(7) 'Mahasenagupta described as king of Malwa by Bana' (p. 63 of *Harsha*). Mr. R. D. Banerji

pounces upon this sentence and pronounces that a king named Mahasenagupta is not mentioned in the *Harshacharita* (*M. R.*). May I call his attention to p. 53 of the same work where the identification of Mahasenagupta is fully discussed on the basis of the statements of Bana? Why should Mr. Banerji pick out a sentence occurring later in a Table and omit the earlier explanations given on the subject?

(8) 'The extent of Maukhari dominion as indicated by the localities of Maukhari inscriptions. Dr. Mookerji shows that the Deo-Baranark inscription (occurring on a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple in a village near Arrah) confirms an earlier grant of a Maukhari king in that locality which must, therefore, be understood as being within his dominion. Mr. Banerji objects to this kind of reasoning (*M. R.*) on grounds best known to himself. Is not the extent of Asoka's empire inferred from the localities of his edicts? His objection to the Asirgarh Seal being used for this argument is more reasonable, because the evidence of a portable seal is more illusory. But it must be considered (1) that this seal was part of a copper-plate grant not found, and not so portable as an isolated seal like that of Harsha or Bhaskara mentioned by Mr. Banerji, (2) that the locality of the seal was not far removed from the conquests of Saravarmar's predecessors, viz., those of Isvaravarmar upto Dhara, Vindhya and Raivataka (Girnar) hills in pursuit of the Andhras and of Isanavarmar achieving victories over the Andhras and Sulikas [pp. 54-55 of *Harsha*]. As usual, Mr. Banerji ignores the earlier and the fuller explanations and picks out for attack isolated and later statements previously justified. Both these inscriptions, in indicating the localities of the grants of kings, certainly indicate the limits of their dominion.

(9) In the then prevailing system of administration, "the *Visayapatis* had their head-quarters in the *adhisthanas* or civil stations in which were located their own *adhikaranas*, their offices or courts. An inscription on one of the Basarh seals refers to the district office of Vaisali (Vaisalyadhisthanadhikarana) (*Harsha*, pp. 106-107). In spite of this repeated mention that the term *adhikarana* signifies 'office', Mr. R. D. Banerji commenting on that very page excitedly proclaims to the world—"It never occurred to the learned professor that the term *Adhikarana* means an office!" (*M. R.*)

(10) "Kumaramatya, lit., counsellor for a prince" [*Harsha*, p. 106]. This simple statement has led, Mr. Banerji to cite the Archaeological Report for 1903-4 (*M. R.*) which points out, according to him, "four classes of ranks of *Kumaramatyas*", viz., those "equal in rank" to (1) the emperor, (2) the heir-apparent, (3) "younger princes" and (4) those of the "ordinary lowest rank". In my humble opinion this explanation is extremely doubtful. On the face of it, no officer, however high, can ever have a rank equal to that of an emperor. Prof. Mookerjee seems to me to be quite right in taking *Kumaramatya* as a general term for an officer, and taking the word *padiya* to indicate merely his particular status and association, whether he is attached to the emperor or to the Yuvaraja (Yuvarajapadiya). I may give some illustrations taken from *Harsha* on the point. I should like to draw Mr. Banerji's attention to the following note of the editor, Sir John Marshall, in the same Archaeological Survey Report he cites: "Dr. Vogel takes *Yuvarajapadiyakumaramatya* as a *Tatpuruṣa* compound in which the first

member takes the place of the genitive case, and translates; The minister of His Highness the Yuvaraja.

(11) "The term *Drangika* for a city-magistrate' (*Harsha*, p. 109). Instead of asking Prof. Mookerji "to take the trouble of consulting the English translation of the *Rajatarangini* for the correct meaning of the word *dranga* in Sanskrit" (*M. R.*) a meaning which has been wrongly given by Fleet also, in Mr. Banerji's opinion, may I in all humility ask Mr. Banerji to take the trouble of consulting the St. Petersburg Dictionary which quotes the very passage of the *Rajatarangini* in which the word *dranga* occurs, but explains the word to mean a 'town' and not a 'boundary'.

(12) In his *Harsha* Dr. Mookerji has included a Note on 'The Art of the Age', of the 'Gupta Age'. Mr. Banerji "cannot understand what business Prof. Mookerji has to introduce this topic in a book on *Harsha*" (*M. R.*). Yes; he cannot understand it because he cannot understand the difference between 'the art of the Gupta Age' and 'Gupta Art'.

(a) "For the standpoint of art history the two reigns of Harsha and Pulakesin II have generally been included in the Gupta period, a position justified by the fact of the actual persistence of Gupta culture". [Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his latest work, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 92]. I hope Mr. Banerji accepts Dr. Coomaraswamy as an authority not inferior to his favourite authority, Dr. (Miss) Kraurisch.

(b) In the same work of Dr. Coomaraswamy are included as examples of Gupta Art, or more correctly, of the art of "the Gupta Period, 320-600 A. D." the following:—

(i) The Ajanta Caves (pp. 75-77-*ib.*)

(ii) The Elura Caves (p. 77, *ib.*); in spite of Mr. Banerji's dictum that "Prof. Mookerji is not ashamed to speak of Ellora as a centre of Gupta Brahminical Art." (*M. R.*).

(iii) "The Brahminical Durga temple at Aihole" a few other temples of the same place (*ib.* pp. 78-79); in spite of Mr. Banerji's patronising sarcasm that Prof. Mookerji "includes these within the sphere of influence of Gupta Art!" (*M. R.*) As regards "the sphere of influence of Gupta Art", let him understand its fullest extent from the following sentence of Dr. Coomaraswamy: "The influence of Gupta Art was felt not only throughout India and Ceylon but far beyond the confines of India proper, surviving to the present day" [*ib.* p. 72].

On the subject of Ajanta, Dr. Mookerji writes: "Some of the best examples of both sculpture and painting for the period are seen at Ajanta" (p. 164 of *Harsha*). Nowhere has he described Ajanta art as Gupta art. Yet Mr. Banerji delivers himself of the following deliberate comment: "Prof. Mookerji is also not aware of the fact that Ajanta has no connection with Gupta art!" (*M. R.*) May I in this connexion present to Mr. Banerji the following conclusions of some art critics of more authority than he?

(1) "The epoch from the beginning of the fourth to the end of the eighth century A. D. will be most fitly summarised architecturally by a description of the rock-cut Viharas and Chaitya houses of Ajanta." [Havell, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, p. 139].

(2) "Apart from temple architecture the art of the Gupta period is illustrated by some of the earlier halls and chapels of the splendid abbey of Ajanta, one of the great universities of the time." [Havell, *Aryan Rule*, p. 184].

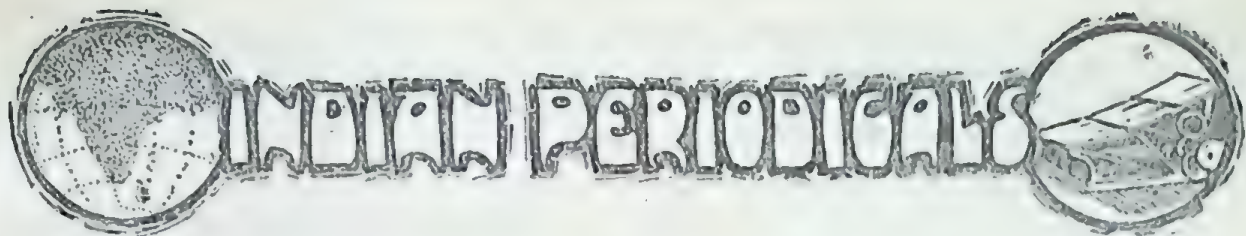
(3) "Among the most interesting architectural monuments of the Gupta period is the so-called Vishvakarma Chaitya House at Ellora." [*ib.* p. 185.]

(4) "The paintings in Viharas I and II (c. 600-650 A. D.) at Ajanta are hardly to be distinguished in style from those of the Gupta period strictly defined as such" [Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 99].

(5) "Of flat-roofed temples of the Gupta period there is an interesting example in the Dekkhan known as the Lad Khan's temple at Aihole in the Bijapur District" [O. C. Gangoly, *Indian Architecture*, p. 14.]

Prof. Mookerji says "In the Gupta period were also developed what are called the *Mudras* -" (*Harsha* p. 162). Therefore, Mr. R. D. Banerji must remind him that the *Mudras* are to be found in the earliest Gandhara sculptures (*M. R.*)! In his opinion there is no difference between *origins* and subsequent *developments*!

Prof. Mookerji writes (*Harsha*, p. 163): "Besides Sarnath, some of the best examples of the Gupta sculptures are being brought to light at Nalanda." Mr. Banerji, not seeing this passage on the same page he comments on, must pass the following verdict: "Up-to-date knowledge on the subject was evidently not considered necessary by the learned author of this book and therefore he does not know of the recently discovered Gupta art of Nalanda!" (*M. R.*)



Composite Culture of Bengal

In concluding his series of illuminating studies on 'The Culture Products of Bengal,' Mr. Rames Basu has this wholesome counsel for the Bengalis in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* (Sravan, 1335, B. S.):

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Mm. Haraprasad Sastri and Deshbandhu Chittarnanjan Das used alike to deplore, with great truth that the Bengalis seemed to be the most self-forgetful race of India. It is surely obvious that in order to be true to any ideal, whether of Aryan or Semitic origin, they must first of all be true to themselves. If Bengal will but shake off her habit of oblivion nothing can prevent her attaining to the height of her inherent Genius. If both Communities get back to, and take their stand on their original Truth, they will there find on cause for differences or quarrels, for as our Hindu-cum-Muslim devotees of the middle ages pointed out, there is no difference between Ram and Rahim. The Muslim poet, Firdausi, has also freely acknowledged.

Whoe'er shall read the Indian's book will find Both pleasure and enlightenment of mind.

Nor is there anything in their precept-day outlook which need keep these two sister-communities asunder. The wealth of symbolism which is the outstanding cultural achievement of the Hindu mind, may continue to be freely availed of by the Muslim, as it has been in the past, to enrich his own literary and artistic output; while the sense of brotherhood which is the crowning glory of Islam, can well serve as a much-needed example to the separatist Hindu. It is indeed a pity that, instead of their respective cultural attainments being used for mutual help and uplift, they should be allowed to be exploited by self-seekers to further their own ends by promoting artificial antagonisms.

The Quran says: *God has granted to every people a prophet in its own tongue.* Both Hindu and Muslim will find Prophets who have spoken in their common language, Bengali,—from Rammohan Roy down to Rabindranath,—to whom both can and do look up for inspiration and guidance on the path of loving service to their common motherland. If but Hindu, Moslem and Christian of Bengal would join hands, this magnificent composite culture of their Province, with its exquisite blend of Oriental and Occidental, Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian, Vedic, Buddhist, Islamic and Christian factors, could well show the way to the larger synthesis of Greater India that is yet to come.

Peace has had a War Basis

The Madras Christian College Magazine writing editorially on the Renunciation of War, which is so much being talked of, makes this thoughtful observation:

It is significant that for the first time in history first-rate world powers have under discussion the possibility of renouncing war as a means for the settlement of international differences. Whatever may be the claims that are made for international law and policy, it is fairly apparent that for a long time the entire structure of international relationship has been resting on a war basis. The persuasion of the diplomat has depended to a large extent on the force in whose name he speaks. The ability to negotiate favourable understandings is too often and too unduly influenced by military or naval power. Even peace itself has had a war basis, and nations have deluded themselves into thinking that the best way to preserve peace was to be armed to the teeth for war. At last the world is beginning to understand that armies and navies are not peace instruments. It used to be thought that they were built and maintained to meet the requirements of war; now we begin to see that wars sooner or later have to be made to meet the requirements of military forces. Even international law has allowed militarism to grow and flourish under its benign aegis.

Hermitages—the Spring-head of Indian Civilization

In an enumeration of 'The Gifts of Aryans to India, in *The Hindustan Review*, July, Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C. I. E. places "the institution of hermitages, which were distinct alike from the city universities and celebrate monasteries of Christian Europe," at the top of them all, lofty spirituality, the spirit of systematising every branch of thought, ordered imagination in literary or artistic creation, the grading of people into mutually exclusive castes, and honour to woman while rejecting matriarchy and polyandry. Says Prof. Sarkar:

The most powerful and most beneficent factor of Aryan influence consisted in the hermitages of the *Rishis*, which grew up in what is popularly called the epic age, i. e., after the Aryans had advanced to the fertile Gangetic valley and established large and rich kingdoms, with crowded cities and magnificent courts, and peace and leisure for the population.

The hermits or *Rishis* who lived in these forest-homes (*Ashtas*) were not lonely recluses or celibate anchorites cut off from the society of women and the family. They formed family groups, living with their wives and children, but not pursuing wealth or fame or material advancement like ordinary householders. All their attention was devoted to the practice of virtue and the cultivation of knowledge. Thus they lived in the world, but were not of it. They had frequent touch with the cities and the royal court by means of respectful invitations to the domestic ceremonies of the Kings and rich men, and the visits made by the latter to these hermitages in the spirit of pilgrimage. Their pupils included their own children and also boys from the busy world, who lived with the hermits, shared their toils, studied under them, and served them like their own sons. Then, when their education was completed, they would bow down to their *guru*, pay their thanks-offering (*dakshina*), and come to the busy world to take their places among the men of action.

Thus, the ancient Hindu University, without being rigidly isolated, was kept at a safe distance from the noisy luxurious capitals and gave the purest form of physical, intellectual and moral culture possible in any age, if we leave out natural science and mechanics. Learning was developed by the *Rishis*, who were maintained in learned leisure partly by their pupils' foraging in the ownerless woods and fields of that age and partly by the gifts of Kings and rich householders.

These hermitages were as effectual for the promotion of knowledge and the growth of serious literature as the cathedrals of mediæval Europe, but without the unnatural monachism of the latter.

Lecky remarks about the celibate clergy of the Catholic world: The effect of the mortification of the domestic affections upon the general character was probably very pernicious. In Protestant countries, where the marriage of the clergy is fully recognised, it has, indeed, been productive of the greatest and most unequivocal benefits. Nowhere does Christianity assume a more beneficial or a more winning form than in those gentle clerical households which stud our land, constituting, as Coleridge said, 'the one idyl of modern life,' the most perfect type of domestic peace, the centre of civilisation in the remotest village. Among the Catholic priesthood, on the other hand, where the vow of celibacy is faithfully observed, a character of a different type is formed, which with very grave and deadly faults combines some of the noblest excellences to which humanity can attain. (*History of European Morals* cabinet ed., ii. 137, 334-335). This evil was avoided in ancient India.

The Brahmins of old enjoyed popular veneration and social supremacy, but they used their influence and prestige solely for the promotion of learning and religion, and not for enriching themselves or gratifying their passions. The nation as a whole benefited by this arrangement. But it was possible only in a purely Hindu State, without a dense population and with science and technical arts in a simple undeveloped condition.

In the calm of these sylvan retreats were developed our systems of philosophy, ethics, theology and even several branches of literature proper. Witness the vivid scene of the discussion

of political science, and morality in the Naimish forest as described in the Mahabharat.

Herein lay the true spring-head of the ancient civilisation of the Hindus, and this we owe entirely to the Indo-Aryans of the earliest or Brahmanic age.

Muslim Contribution to India

If the Aryan gifts are six, Prof. Sarcar enumerates in his estimate of 'Islam in India' in the *Prabuddha Bharata*, August, ten distinct contributions of the Moslems to the composite culture and national life of India:

What were the gifts of the Muslim age to India? They were ten:

(i) Restoration of touch with the outer world, which included the revival of an Indian navy and sea-borne trade, both of which had been lost since the decline of the Cholas.

(ii) Internal peace over a large part of India, especially north of the Vindhyas.

(iii) Uniformity secured by the imposition of the same type of administration.

(iv) Uniformity of social manners and dress among the upper classes irrespective of creed.

(v) Indo-Saracen art, in which the mediæval Hindu and Chinese schools were blended together. Also, a new style of architecture, and the promotion of industries of a refined kind (e. g., shawl, inlaying, kinkhab, muslim carpet, etc.).

(vi) A common *lingua franca*, called Hindustani or Rekhta, and an official prose style (mostly the creation of Hindu munshis writing Persian, and even borrowed by the Maratha *chitnis* for their own vernacular).

(vii) Rise of our vernacular literatures, as the fruits of peace and economic prosperity under the empire of Delhi.

(viii) Monotheistic religious revival and Sufism.

(ix) Historical literature.

(x) Improvements in the art of war and civilisation in general.

Development of Indian Numerals

A. A. Krishnaswami Ayangar, Esq., M.A. L.T., writes thus about 'The Development of the Numeral Systems in India', in the fourth instalment of his contributions on 'The Hindu Arabic Numerals' in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, July.

One noteworthy feature of the development of the numeral notation in India is its 'progressive continuity' and growth—one system leading on to the next and getting itself absorbed in it, imbibing new life partaking the essential principles

* There is nothing like it in the notations of other nations for examples, there is hardly any point in common between the earlier Attic notation and the later Greek alphabetic notation,

of the old and the new. We have seen how the iterative and additive notation of the Kharoshti numerals lent as it were its first four symbols to the Brahmi notation and got merged in it. Again, the Brahmi numerals did not advance further than a few hundreds, since the word-numeration developed alongside of it with the place-value principle and arrested the growth of the non-positional notation. Otherwise, we should have had, even in Indin, a kind of extension of the non-positional notation with a periodic principle corresponding to that of the alphabetic notation of the Greeks with the dashes and dots for numbers greater than 1,000, witness also the two-fold alphabetic notation, one before the invention of the decimal notation and another after it, utilizing the positional principle and the zero. There has been also similarly a two-fold word-numeral notation, one non-positional and the other positional distinguished by the way in which the Dwandawa compounds (containing the numeral names) were dissolved, the one by 'or' and the other by 'and', the latter presupposing the existence of the decimal notation (*vide Buhler's Indian Palaeography*).

Teaching a Deaf Child to Speak

Mr. T. G. Nawathe, a specialist in the Education of the deaf, writes on the above subject in *The Progress of Education*, July.

After the establishment of deafness is announced forever, the child, if found speechless, may better be brought to the teacher of the deaf at the age of six or seven. The deaf child is as good mentally and physically as his hearing fellows and his Will can be operated upon so much so that instruction may safely be imparted to him orally.

How this is possible is now to be seen. The deaf persons cannot have sound images as the gates to receive sound are closed. But kind nature has applied them with the sense of touch which enables them to feel, not exactly the sound itself but the vibrations of the sounding bodies. They are first asked to imitate to give out voice from their mouth, or more correctly from their larynx, by seeing the teacher's mouth open and bringing the larynx in action. In the absence of imitation on the part of the deaf to put the larynx into action, or more accurately into vibrating condition, the help of their touch sense is resorted to. The reason is that as the ear hears sound sounding of bodies if there is a medium like air between the sounding body and the ear, so in the case of the deaf the medium is their touch sense to feel it, not the sound as sound but only the vibrations of the sounding bodies; for independent of the sense of hearing, sound as sound has no existence in nature. They are asked to place their hands on the teacher's throat i. e. the sound-emitting place, and imitate to produce voice. The imitation at once results in giving out vocal sounds as desired by the teacher. Thus only by imitation the vowels and the consonants are taught and then the language teaching is a patient and arduous task as in the case of child who is taught language by his mother in his infancy by way of untiring repetitions.

Co-operation in Russia

In an informative article in the *Welfare* Mr. Wilfred Wellock M. P. gives an indication of the big strides that Russia has taken in Co-operation. Besides his experience, Mr. Wellock gives figures that toll:

The principal links in the Co-operative system are as follows: There is first of all a net work of rural town and industrial Co-operative Societies. Above these in rural areas, are District and Regional Unions. Above these again are the unions of the five autonomous republics which make up the Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics, while Controsoyus unites the whole lot, and also the town and industrial societies.

There are now 26,697 rural societies, with about 60,000 stores; 1,556 town societies, with 15,000 stores; 38 railway worker's societies with 2,000 stores; 284 District Unions, and 5 Regional Unions. There is a rural store for every 2,690 persons, while their total membership is well over 7,000,000 as against 1,000,000 in 1915. It is estimated that more than one-third of the farmsteads in Russia are organised in Co-operative Societies, with a capital of over £30,000,000, half of which is borrowed from the State. In 1926 the total sales of the rural Co-operatives amounted to £175,585,000 which is a four-fold increase on 1924.

These rural Co-operatives work on very low distribution costs, and sell at prices at 10 p. c. less than private stores. It is estimated that they thus increase the purchasing power of the peasantry by nearly £15,000,000 per year.

The membership of the town Co-operatives doubled between 1923 and 1926, being 5,000,000 at the latter date. Their total capital is £50,000,000 and their total sales for 1926 amounted to £247,876,000. It is estimated that these Societies save the workers who are members of them £30,000,000 a year in the way of cheaper commodities.

For 1925-26 the gross turnover of the Co-operative Societies amounted to £736,622,000, of which £442,292,000 represents retail trade. Of the total trade of the country in the year 1926-27 34 p. c. was done by the State, 44 p. c. by the Co-operative Societies, and only 22 p. c. by private traders.

Dental Education in India

Dr. J. J. Modi of the Grant Medical College Bombay traces the history of the past, present and the future of Dental Education in India in *The Indian Dental Review* for June. Regarding Dentistry in Ancient India we read:

That Dental Education must have existed in the long past is certain, for Dentistry flourished in India in an efficient condition several thousand years ago and it could not have flourished without some means of educating people in this art of dental relief.

Regarding the position of dental education in modern times the writer says :

In the early eighties of the last century there came in Bombay an English Dentist—one Mr. Stephen—who undertook to train pupils to learn Dentistry. He had five pupils, I am told, who on finishing their training under him, set themselves up in practice, and in their turn also took up pupils who in their own turn did the same. Thus did the dental profession grow to its present extent and its scandalous state. That state is that the bulk (95 p.c.) of the Dental profession is composed of unqualified men, and it is entirely due to the total want of facilities for systematic dental education in India, and neglect on the part of the Government to stop this mushroom growth of these unqualified men. The first official attempt at dental education was made by the Government in 1906 by establishing the Chair of Dentistry, which I have now the honour to occupy, in the Grant Medical College from 1906 to 1928 is a far cry, and yet the Government did nothing more in that direction, than making pious promises. The absence of facilities for dental education in India, for there is not one single Dental School and Hospital in this country, is a stain on the fair name of the Government. But now thanks to the efforts of Sir Leslie Wilson, the Governor of Bombay, and the financial help of the Trustees of Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Memorial Fund, that stain will soon be removed, for Bombay by the end of this year will have the Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Dental College and Hospital—the first full-fledged dental college and hospital of India. The opening of this institution will be a historic event in the history of modern India, for through its portals Dentistry will, after a lapse of several centuries, officially come back to India, the land of its birth.

Value of Ancient Indian Culture

The *Vedic Magazine* for June publishes the illuminating presidential address of Principal T. L. Vaswani at the Karachi Youth Conference wherein he puts forth a strong plea for the study of Indian culture by our youths. In the course of his speech he refers to the great Indian mystic Pratapchandra Mazoomdar and his expositions of the Upanishadic conceptions and says :

According to some, Indian culture is perfect. I do not believe that any culture is final. I believe that human cultures progress as civilizations progress. Recognising that Indian culture is not final, I submit in all humility that Indian culture has a great message for the modern world. Indian culture is permeated with the spirit of a great ideal and I want that high spiritual ideal to flow again into the life of India and the modern world. I remember a little incident mentioned by a great Indian mystic who went to England many years ago. I am not sure if all of you are familiar with the name of that great Indian, Pratap Chandra Mazoomdar, a great leader of the Brahma Samaj. He passed away many years ago. He was in

England at the time when the great scientist Tyndall was being severely criticised. In his Belfast address he had said that the time was coming when science would see in matter the promise and potency of mind. This was a heresy to many and a number of criticisms appeared against him in the press. Pratap Chandra Mazoomdar paid a visit to Tyndall, and in the course of his talk the great Indian mystic referred to the Belfast address and the criticism in the papers. Pratap Mazoomdar expressed sympathy with Tyndall and referred to some of the ancient Upanishadic conceptions of the relation between matter and mind. Tyndall said:—"Your words are a great comfort to me; the light once came from the East; the light will travel again from the East." And in all humility I submit, there is one domain in which India still has a message to give to the World. In the domain of objective sciences the West is great, and we must sit at the feet of the West to understand more the spirit of observation and experimentation. But there is another domain in which, I believe, India has a message for the world; to understand the right mind of India we must make a study of ancient Indian culture.

French Engineers in Kabul

We read in the *Bulletin of the Iran League* for July.

The Afghan Sovereign admirably keeps the balance of power among the European competitors for his favours. While the Germans, Italians and Russians are so much in evidence, we heard little of the French influence in Kabul. Now we understand that M. Clemenceau, grandson of the famous French politician, is in Kabul with three French engineers. They have been invited by the Afghan Government to discuss the improvement of the road transport and communications. It is possible that they will submit plans of a railway in Afghanistan linking the latter country with India.

Vices of Heavy Smoking

The *Red Cross* for July publishes an article under the caption "The Case against Tobacco : In it we read that excessive smoking produces may be a symptom as well as a cause of mental and physical inferiority. We are further told that

Heavy smoking is undoubtedly injurious. The neurotic girl, who is an "end-to-end" cigarette smoker, and who consumes 20 to 50 cigarettes a day, may do so because she is already a neurasthenic wreck, but the more she smokes, the more neurasthenic does she become, and thus a vicious circle is created which it is very difficult to break. It is the naked truth that tobacco is a narcotic poison, and that even its moderate use is attended by the risk of becoming a prey to it. It has been well said by Professor W. H. Park that "it is not consistent with wise counsel to the public to encourage even the moderate use of such a drug...

the public should be encouraged to maintain standard of health that is independent of these narcotic resources and attempted shortcuts from life strain.—

Ramayana Relief from Prambanan

Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee gives a glimpse of the artistic achievements of Hindus in Java in an illustrated article in *Rupam* (January-April number). About the Ramayana sculptures at Prambanan we read :

The temple group at Prambanan in Java is a veritable epic in stone. These magnificent temples dedicated to God the Creator, God the Preserver and God the Destroyer and Regenerator and Merciful Teacher, to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, present the finest fruit of the earlier Hindu culture of Java. Boro-Budur and Prambanan are twin flowers borne by the transplanted tree of Hindu art in Java : twins born with in the same period of cultural awakening and self-realisation of the race ; and as twins, they show agreements, but it has its peculiar individuality as well, and this has given rise to the contrast between them which irresistibly fixes our attention.

The Ramayana sculptures at Prambanan have other appeals than the purely aesthetic one. They are inestimable documents of Indian literature and mythology. The reliefs amply show that the artists followed not so much Valmiki as other independent versions of the Rama story.

Authenticity of Feminine Portraits of the Moghul School

Mr. O. C. Gangoly contributes an interesting article in the same journal in which he shows that majority of the feminine portraits of the Moghul school are "imaginary pictures and are not the record of actual likenesses." This fact, of course, does not in any way diminish the artistic value of the exquisitely beautiful Moghul miniatures as the writer truly observes in conclusion :

To sum up, with occasional exceptions, the surviving portraits of women are not, as a rule, authentic likenesses, or actual portraits, but imaginary visualisations, based perhaps on familiar types. However, the loss to History is in this case, a distinct gain to Art. For the lack of realistic data, drives the Moghul artists to seek inspiration from an imaginary vision, and to create an ideal type of exquisite artistic convention, which, transports the somewhat prosaic and pedestrian art of the Moghul court on the wings of heightened fancy, to a higher plane of imaginative sublimation.

Bombay Government and Prohibition

Mr. R. G. Pradhan, M.L.C. strongly criticises the excise policy of the Bombay Government in an article in *The Indian Review* for July and accuses the government for "circumventing" and "frustrating" non-official efforts in the direction of prohibition. Says the writer :

What is the moral of all this? If the Government really intended to make a real and substantial beginning in the direction of prohibition, they could certainly introduce prohibition at least in those districts where the consumption of liquor per head is very low, and where, therefore, the loss of revenue would not be much and could be easily made up. The minority of the Committee have recommended such a course, and there is everything to be said in its favour, at any rate, as an experimental measure. But this postulates a genuine will to promote prohibition. Such a will, however it must be painfully said, is absolutely lacking on the part of the Government, including the Minister. The present system of Government seems to be hopelessly incapable of prompting the material and moral progress of the people, according to their views, sentiments and wishes. The Government talk of the money derivable from fresh taxation being required for education. But what have they done in the matter? I sent in a Bill which would have brought about compulsory education throughout the Presidency in seven years. That Bill was vetoed on the ground that it would entail additional expenditure with the Government had no means of meeting. Have the Government ever brought in a taxation Bill, to meet the requirements of compulsory education? As is well-known, compulsory education has made no progress whatever, and nothing has been, or is being, done to obtain more revenue for the purpose. The fact is, Government are earnest neither about education nor about prohibition. Unless the Bombay Legislative Council asserts its will and compels the Minister and the Government to loyally carry it out, prohibition in the Bombay Presidency is doomed.

Queen Mary

M. E. Chambers in the course of a review of Kathleen Woodward's *Queen Mary* in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* for July shows how Queen Mary finds beauty in order and harmony in all her household arrangements :

As Queen, in the great royal houses of Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace, she regards herself as the servant of the nation—the custodian on the people's behalf of the treasures collected there. The vastness of Windsor Castle is perhaps hard to imagine. It includes chapels, picture-galleries, library, towers and gateways, which are open at times to the public. Then there are the royal suits used by the King and Queen themselves, and over one thousand other rooms not seen by the visitor. Queen Mary has been discovered moving furniture

and hanging pictures herself, but it is obvious that, in houses of such vast magnitude, her task must be chiefly one of oversight. But it is very real, sympathetic, intelligent oversight, for she has none of that affectation, which imagines that the details of domestic affairs are not the concern of a great lady. Two women, wives of Labour Members of Parliament, once visited the Queen, and are said to have been delighted at the friendly way in which she received them and at the efficiency so markedly seen at the Palace. As they were leaving one of them uttered their highest word of praise, 'And I'll guarantee that if we went into her kitchen, it would be as clean as ours.' Yes, Queen Mary knows what is happening in her kitchen. She made a special point during the War of managing the details of housekeeping, and effecting those economies and preventions of waste, which were demanded in the interests of the nation. All her work is selfless. Of Buckingham Palace it has been said, 'There are no slaves here, but the King and Queen : they are slaves to duty.' So this 'royal slave' dedicates to others her energy, efficiency, sympathy, and sound artistic taste. In all her household arrangements she finds beauty in order and harmony, and has done much to bring to light hidden treasures, and to get the right thing in the right place in those innumerable apartments.

Extravagance of Indian Princes Abroad

The Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan who, is himself sojourning in England is reported to have said in an interview to the "Observer" that the Indian Princes should take up the business of Government seriously and not spend their time "Gallivanting in Europe" at the expense of their subjects. Commenting on this statement *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* for July observes :

We are sorry if the reports circulated by the Nationalist press in India are true about the extravagance of the Indian Princes in England. Although we admit that by their frequent tours to foreign parts they are able to learn much and get first-hand information about the places they visit, to a large extent they must curtail their expenditure. Leaving a wide enough margin for the personal expenses of the Ruling Princes in keeping with their high dignity there are instances of extravagant personal expenditure which we are sure will be greatly minimised if the Princes are appraised of their financial position now and again. The traditions of a native court and its hospitality demand a scale of expenditure which to an outsider will look like folly. But these traditions have to be respected, and it means some expenditure. Well, leaving a good margin for that, we cannot help saying that some of the Princes, especially on their tours abroad, go in for a scale of personal expenses for which there can be no justification and which in some cases are evidently beyond their means.

The Maharajadhiraja's advice applies

with equal, if not greater, force in case of Zemindars. The Indian Zemindars also should take up the business of managing their own estates instead of holiday-making and touring abroad.

Sati

Stri Dharma for August writes :

A young girl of Bihar committed Sati. When the flames became intolerable, she jumped into the Ganges, but was rescued. After two days and nights of agony she died. Sufferings as these which gave a thrill of horror to all civilized sensibilities elicits the following remarks from the *Searchlight* of Bihar : "Sati represents the acme of moral perfection and its whole merit is based on its voluntariness. In course of time, however, under demoralising political conditions corruption crept in and voluntariness disappeared to a very large extent. But with all this a pure Sati—pure in the sense of voluntariness—yet invokes the profound reverence of all Hindus who have not divested themselves of their age-long culture."

There is no "voluntariness" in conduct, to the extent it is wrought of deception. It is deception to tell uneducated young girls that their husbands are their gods however devoid of merit, and that to mount their funeral pyre is the surest way to Heaven.

There is no "voluntariness" in action to the extent it is induced by pressure. Public opinion is a mighty pressure, and in olden days there were millions like the writers to the *Searchlight* who pointed to widows the funeral flames of their husbands as the best place for them.

There is no "voluntariness" in deeds to the extent they are inspired by fear. The fear inspiring is the suffering and humiliation that Hindu Society has reserved for widows who elect to live.

One many also consider how many men have followed "the acme of moral perfection" that they so easily preach to women, and mounted the flames of their wives. "Voluntary" self-torture seems never popular with those who have liberty to do what they please. Do women have that liberty? "No liberty for women" says the code of Manu.

Spirituality is often distinct from the practice of religion and ceremonial. The history of religion and crime have therefore many coinciding points—Sati is one. Also, religious men are often the worst criminals. When wickedness stoops to cruelty, cowardice seeks exculpation in ceremonies and religion.

The Elephanta Caves

In the profusely illustrated and neatly printed *Indian State Railways Magazine* for August, Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon gives an illustrated account of his visit to the Elephanta Caves. Says he :

The insignificant ticket office and wooden shanties at the ingress to the Elephanta Caves may be taken by the enthusiastic visitor as not a bad symbol of the modest entrances to India's spacious art-to-day: How an artist must regret that he did not live in the Golden Age, when India was filled with gorgeous paintings and sculptures; when the mind of the people projected itself, and their hands transformed the Idea into Fact, so that celestial forms materialised out of the hard crust of Mother Earth!

But the World's greatest religions have preached the apotheosis of the Poor. We must not forget that the same great creed which inspired the artists to chisel the *trimurti* in the great Temple of Elephanta, (that most marvellous of sculptures!) which portrays the three aspects of God as three awesome giant faces upon one trunk, of which only the bust is seen above the Earth, gave the conquest of the Three Worlds to the naked ascetic rather than to the renowned warrior. There were few exceptions to this rule;—the road to power was the path of self-abnegation, and when the ascetic, proud of his accumulation of merit, vaunted himself unduly, the stroke of the Divine Vengeance was not long delayed.

Gaur—The Ancient Metropolis of Bengal

Prof. Rakhaldas Banerji writes in the ably conducted and nicely-got up *E. B. Ry* Supplement to the *Indian State Railways Magazine* for August.

Very few people in Bengal know that long before Murshidabad and Dacca, Gaur or Lakshmanavati was the Capital of Bengal for many centuries. Many Bengalees do not know where Gaur is and inconvenient questions have often been asked about it. Gaur is the name of an ancient city in Northern Bengal which was the Capital of Bengal for 900 years. Its original name was Gauda and was derived from Gur the Bengali word for molasses. From the oldest known records of Bengal it has been ascertained that it became the Capital of the Empire founded by Dharmapala in the middle of the 8th century A. D. Its name was changed to Ramabati at the end of the 12th century by king Ramapala of the Pala dynasty; to Lakshmanavati by king Lakshmanasena of the Sena dynasty; and to Jannatabad by Mughal Emperor Humayun. Shamsuddin Irooz Shah, an independent Musalman King of Bengal, founded a suburb named Firuzabad to the north of old Gaur, where the Capital remained from 1345 to 1446. It was retransferred to Gaur in 1446 and remained there till the destruction of the city by a great plague in 1550.

Very little can be seen of old Gaur of the Buddhist and Hindu periods. Its ruins are supposed to be buried under the vast mounds locally known as "Ballal-bari" which lie to the east of modern Maldah. The ruins of Gaur still attract hundreds of visitors on account of the splendid remains of the Musalman period.

Birth of the Congress Movement

In his interesting survey of "Rural Bengal in the Seventies" in the *Calcutta Review* for

August, Mr. Francois H. Skrine shows how the simmering discontent of educated Indians gave birth to the Congress movement."

Fifty-seven years ago, all superior appointments were reserved by Act of Parliament for British subjects who had stood highest in a competitive examination held annually in London. After being trained for a Indian career, they were called on to enter into a "Covenant" with the Secretary of State, which forbade them to engage in private trade. Very few Indians could afford the cost of the journey to England, and in 1871 only one had gained a footing in the Covenanted Civil Service. His fellow-countrymen who stood outside its jealously guarded pale could reach no higher posts than those of Deputy Magistrate or Subordinate Judge. But Indians performed the routine duties in every office with marked efficiency, and rumour had it that a humble clerk was "the power behind the throne" occupied by many a highly placed Civilian. It was only natural that educated Indians should view the European monopoly of office with displeasure. Their feelings were timidly voiced by the vernacular press, and found vent at meetings of the Dharma Sabhas, or Religious Assemblies, which took place in every large town. Thirteen years later the simmering discontent was brought to a head by the Lieutenant Governor's ill-judged attempt to limit the right of trial by jury. It gave birth to the Congress Movement, to which Indians stand indebted for every political privilege they now enjoy.

"Movable School" at Tuskegee

Prof. Dr. G. S. Krishnayya gives a description of the Movable School of Agriculture and Home Economics at Tuskegee in the August number of the *Youngmen of India Burma and Ceylon*. We read:

Speaking of the problems of his people, Booker T. Washington is recorded to have said, "We shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify labour, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life." Entirely in keeping with this ideal is the Extension work of the great Institute which he created; to reach Negro farmers and their families and to influence them to adopt better farm practices; to help them to increase their earning capacity, and to improve their living conditions; to interest Negro boys and girls in farm activities, and to train them in the use of improved methods in farming and home-making. It is undoubtedly one of the best means discovered recently for proving to the people generally that they can improve their own conditions.

A most practical phase of that practical activity, Agricultural Extension Service, and yet one with a certain amount of native dramatic flair, which, without doubt adds to its effectiveness is the "Movable School" whose history goes back some twenty-five or thirty years when Booker T. Washington was Principal.

This "Movable School" travels the entire year on a schedule, visiting all parts of the State, particularly regions which are difficult of access

by rail. Arrangements in the country for its coming are made in advance by the country Negro agricultural agent who spends considerable effort and time securing the offer of a farm on which the school force may work, the assembling of supplies which will be needed in the week's work, and in arousing interest among the farmers of the community to come with their families to the demonstrations. Through posters, handbills and other means, the time and place of the meetings are thoroughly advertised.

To Motorists

A motorist who completed a journey from "Dhanbad to Hazaribag by car" writes in *The M. T. Monthly* for August:

The enthusiastic motorist in Bengal, has ample scope to satiate his desires for pastures new as the Province possesses in the Grand Trunk Road and offshoots, a first class line of communication, covering the whole of India from Peshawar in the North-West to Calcutta. The trip from Dhanbad to Hazaribagh, lies partly along the Grand Trunk and partly along the District Board Road, the latter branching off at Mile 216 towards Hazaribag. It is truly a delightful run to undertake as the scenery and country passed through is mostly characteristic of the province of Behar and a pleasant and welcome change from the monotonous landscape presented by the low-lying rice flats and swamps of Bengal.

Mr. Andrews and the Zulus

How Mr. C. F. Andrews conquered the heart of the South African Zulus would be evident from the following narrative published in *The Star* for August:

At one of the largest gatherings which was held in South Africa, near to the time of my departure, at the city of Durban, the branch of the Bantu Race, called the Zulus, came in greater numbers than ever at the farewell meeting which had been arranged for me by my friends of the Indian community.

I had spoken to the Indians in their own language the last message of love before leaving for India, their Motherland and mine. When the meeting was over, I was seated in a neighbouring Indian house where a very old resident of Natal, who himself had very friendly relations with the Zulus, was living. He was a merchant dealing in the goods, which the Zulus used to wear, and he knew their language from old experience of their ways and customs. While I was sitting there, one of the Zulus who had been present at that meeting came to me and sat down at the same table with us and spoke to my Indian host in the Zulu language.

He turned to me and said, "They want to ask you a question." "Please tell them," I said, "I shall be glad to listen to what the Zulus have to say." Then he spoke very pointedly indeed, in the Zulu language, to my host. He turned to me and said:

"They have said to me, Mr. Andrews, that they understood from your speech, which you have just delivered, that you are ready to die for the Indians."

Then I turned to my host and said to him, "Will you ask him one question from me, because he came here to put me a question and that question has not yet been asked. Would you therefore, ask him, why he came here especially at this moment, to see me, and what he wishes me to do to help the Zulus." When my host had put this question, the leader said with a look, which was intense and almost ardent in its character, "We want to know, whether you would be prepared to die for us."

No word that I ever listened to in South Africa went home to my heart like that. I had to ask myself again and again, that night, whether it was not a call from God, and whether I ought not to give up everything in the world to follow the call.

Up till now, the answer has not come quite clearly. But ever ringing in my mind are those tremendous words uttered by that Zulu in the hour of dark sorrow and oppression "Will you not be prepared to die for us."

Hard Lot of Cabinmen

The G. I. P. Union Herald for August, comments editorially:

We have on several occasions criticised the long hours of work and the inadequacy of relieving hands; but our criticism has gone unheeded. The authorities instead of lessening the hardships are acting quite the other way. The case has been brought to our notice in which a cabinman was required to work continuously for 16 hours as no relieving hand was available. It was but natural that after working for so long a time he should have complete rest for at least 32 hours. The authorities would not allow in and the cabinman in question was required to attend after a rest for sixteen hours only. In the meantime another cabinman was posted on duty and the cabinman in question was informed to come on the following day at 10 o'clock, and was subsequently ordered for 6 P. M. In spite of all this the poor cabinman has been penalised and has been reduced Rs. 5 for three months for not coming to duty after 16 hours rest when called. We believe that the cabinman has not only been denied justice but on the contrary has been unjustly penalised. The hours of work for cabinmen are 8 hours a day. And it is but just that he should be relieved after he has worked for 8 hours. We hope that authorities concerned would look at the matter from a humanitarian point of view and cancel the order of reduction.

When Women Smoke

Reviewing Dr. Hofstaetter's latest book entitled "The Smoking Women" *The Oriental Watchman* comments:

God pity the children when both father and mother smoke. Fortunately, when both parents

smoke, the chances are there will be no children. If by chance children are born to such a couple they are handicapped through life because of their unfortunate heredity. Woman has in this respect been a redeeming factor in the prevalent race decadence in the past. When she begins to smoke, and smoking becomes as common to women as it is among men, there will be a landslide in race decadence.

The mother is the home-maker. The smoking mother becomes a home-breaker.

What is wrong with the Musalmans

Addressing the Muhammadans in the course of an well-written article in the Anglo-Urdu journal *Navaida*. Mr. N. A. Abbais laments:

Our general contribution towards the literary activities of the country is negligible in quantity and poor in quality; devoid of deep thought, profound study and scholarly grasp. Pick up any good Indian Magazine and you will invariably miss us there. Have you ever read in any of the hundreds of Indian newspapers that some Mr. Khan, or Mr. Beg, or Mr. Husain delivered a lecture on any literary, philosophic, economic or Scientific subject before a learned audience? And the same Khans, Begs, and Husains, I promise you, will bore you to death at a *Marashia* party with their demoralising love poems at any place any day. For other dialects of the country—some of which are richer than our poor Urdu—we have, as it were, a sort of national distaste. In our own tongue (I admit that we have 5 or 6 monthly magazines that may be passed on as fairly good) we produce a sort of literature more than half of which is worthless and degenerating.

Modern China and the Christian Movement

In *The National Christian Council Review* for August Mr. T. L. Shen discusses the position of "Christian Movement in a Revolutionary China. The writer begins by saying:

The present-day Chinese revolution is unique in the history of the world for two reasons. First, it is based on a recorded past of five thousand years with its rich content of cultural achievement and its wonderful capacity to adapt itself to new situations through assimilation and conquest. Second, it calls for magnificent changes in all spheres of life to be effected within a limited period of time as contrasted with the experiences in the West where the same amount of work has been accomplished through evolution in many centuries. So revolution in China can be pictured as an accelerated process of adaptation and change in contemporary Chinese life, which would pass with much less notice under normal conditions. In its broad realm the revolution really gives impetus to all vital forces, whether destructive or constructive towards the making of a new China. Therefore a fair observer should not be fled to isolate

its politico-military aspects from other equally important reforms, economic, educational, etc., and consider them as only manifestations of the revolution. To a very large extent revolution in China has touched vitally the problem of religion, hitherto unchallenged for centuries. It has questioned the fundamental value of religion, the purpose of religious activities, the social function of religious institutions, and other significant points.

According to the writer:

Traditionally, the Chinese have been accustomed to take for granted that one's belief is not to be interfered with unless it implies or actually brings harm to others.

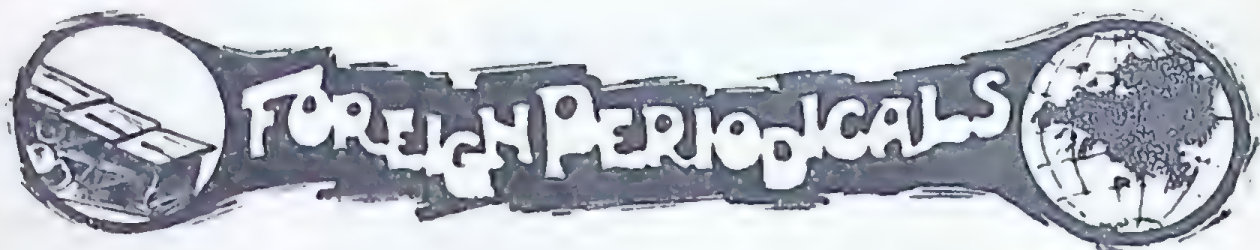
The Public and the Untouchable

In answer to an interrogation "Is there a change in the status of the untouchable and the attitude of the public in regard to his place in Society?" by the editor of *The Social Service Quarterly*, Mr. V R. Sindhe, the well-known social worker says in the July number of the said journal.

Practically both parts of the above question are identical. Yes, there is some little change in the status, but the littleness of this change causes disappointment and even annoyance to a genuine advocate of these classes out of all proportion to satisfaction caused by the change itself. Nowadays much is made, both by the friends and enemies of the "untouchable", of the new political status granted by British rule in India to him in the shape of nomination to the Legislative Councils and local bodies. But those who may look deep enough into the matter will be convinced of the shallowness of this questionable favour. For these nominees are in no way representatives of either the people or their needs. The sting of untouchability is still felt in all its poignance in the mills owned by capitalists as much as in the offices controlled by the foreign bureaucrats or capitalists (all Government is only the worst form of capitalism)! If this is the situation in modern cities what can I say of the districts and the villages.

Political status is measured or ought to be measured by the power of vote secured by any class and not by any extra favours thrown at them. Moreover, such favours work at times positive harm rather than possible good as they create an unhealthy desire to run after them among some who turn out eventually bad leaders of blind groups.

Though, as a result of the work of the Depressed Classes Mission carried on by the so-called higher classes and latterly by some enlightened leaders of the depressed classes themselves, a very large number of "untouchables" residing in cities and provincial towns are evincing an awakening as to their degraded position, the general mass of the submerged millions in the country is still born and bred up under the shades of this titanic slavery without any ray of self-conscious freedom; and even the Titans of the "touchables" in general do not still betray a pang of effective conscience so as to create a hope in us that "by elevating the depressed we are but elevating ourselves."



The Prayerful Spirit

The note of lofty idealism and spiritual fervour, so characteristic of the man, is clearly sounded in a short utterance of Gandhiji—a message to his Indian followers—which *Message of the East* for July reproduces. Says Mahatmaji :

One word that I would like to leave with you doubly afflicted people of this afflicted land, is that you will lose yourselves in the ocean of the submerged humanity about you. Because it is submerged, the problem is simple. The way is straight, even though it is narrow, and you must treat it in the right and prayerful spirit. We have been praying here for three days. Prayer brings a peace, a strength and a consolation that nothing else can give. But it must be offered from the heart. When it is not offered from the heart, it is like the beating of a drum, or just the vocal effect of the throat sounds. When it is offered from the heart, it has the power to melt mountains of misery. Those who want are welcome to try its power.

As food is necessary for the body, prayer is necessary for the soul. A man may be able to do without food for a number of days, but believing in God, man cannot, should not live a moment without prayer. You will say that we see lots of people living without prayer. I dare say they do, but it is the existence of the brute which, for man, is worse than death. I have not the shadow of a doubt that the strife and quarrels with which our atmosphere is so full to-day, are due to the absence of the spirit of true prayer. You will demur to the statement, I know, and contend that millions of Hindus, Mussulmans and Christians do offer their prayers. It is because I had thought you would raise this objection that I used the words "true prayer." The fact is, we have been offering our prayers with the lips but hardly ever with our hearts, and it is to escape, if possible the hypocrisy of the lip prayer that we in the Ashram repeat every evening the last verses of the second chapter of the Bhagavad Gita. The conditions of the "Equable in Spirit" that is described in those verses if we contemplate them daily, is bound slowly to turn our hearts towards God. If you students would base your education on the true foundation of a pure character and pure heart there is nothing so helpful as to offer your prayers every day truly and religiously.

Finding Truth in All Creeds

The Literary Digest (June 30) thus introduces a writer on the above subject :

All truth is not confined to one sect, or even to one religion, says a modern who has been in search of it in Methodist conferences, Confucianist temples, New Thought centres, Hindu monasteries, Buddhist colleges, and High Church retreats, and found particles of truth in all, but not all of it in any of the creeds. Strangely enough, he finds surprising similarity among the great prophets of religion and dispensers of truth. It is in the organizations of the followers that differences appear and divisions are created. The conclusion of the matter to him is that God resides in man, and that we can achieve anything we like by sinking our differences and uniting our efforts for the common spiritual welfare. Writing under the initials "S. T.," this modern tells us in *The Century Magazine* that the great failing of organized religion—of every religious organization he knows anything about, in fact—is its persistent claim to exclusive possession of a final truth. "A group of men," he says, "set up a part of the truth and call it the whole. And because it is not the whole—because there was another great soul or another great law—another group rises and sets up another part. And so on—sects, denominations, divisions, and subdivisions ; part against part, all loudly proclaiming unity and love to a world that they have kept in an uproar down the centuries, with their own quarrels, persecutions, and dissensions." We shall never achieve love and unity in "hot and noisy competition," he says. To the men and women of to-day "the superior, condescending, and stubbornly ignorant point of view of most religious organizations toward everybody and everything outside their own particular creed, is a point of view intellectually and spiritually impossible."

Non-recognition of this simple truth has perhaps cost some creeds the loss of their hold on many thinking and enlightened minds.

The Voice of the Inaudible

The same journal for July 7 reproduces an article in *The Spectator* on the scientific discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose regarding plant life with the following prefatory remarks :

The latest public Demonstration of the sensitivity of plants, given in London by Sir Jagadis Bose Hindu plant-physiologist, are described in the *Spectator* (London) by F. Yeats-Brown under the above title. Mr. Yeats-Brown does not agree with the eminent American botanist who calls the Bose experiments unscientific. He sees in them a proof of the unity of living forces throughout creation and believes that they, "have intellectual and philosophical, as well as purely medical, consequences of the greatest importance."

Dr. Paul Dahlke

Dr. Paul Dahlke, the founder of the 'Buddhist House' in Berlin and an eminent writer on Buddhist subjects, passed away sometime ago, and Mr. J. F. Mc Kechnie gives a brief sketch of his life in *The British Buddhist*.

Dr. Dahlke died of heart-failure at the "Buddhist House" at Frohnau, near Berlin, on the 29th of February last. As he considered that to die is one of the least important of a man's actions, he left instructions that the fact of his death was to be withheld from publicity for as long as possible; hence the lateness of the present notice.

He had suffered from a weak heart for many years, and had previously had attacks of heart weakness which almost terminated his life so that when the final attack came it was no surprise to himself or to those about him.

He was one of the most eminent writers on Buddhist subjects in Europe, for which he was pre-eminently gifted by his keen, searching intellect, and his command of a style of great lucidity, the outcome of lucid thinking. He also had visited the East through many winters, studying Buddhism at first hand from the lips of native pundits in Ceylon and also in Burma, during two visits there. On these visits he acquired a knowledge of the language of Buddhism, Pali, and of this made good use in the issue of several volumes of Pali translation in his native language, German. The titles of the books he issued on Buddhism, during his life, were (we give their titles in English): "Buddhist Essays," "Buddhism and Science," "Buddhism as Religion and Morality," and "Buddhim: Its place in the mental life of mankind." He wrote three slighter books of Buddhist interest called respectively: "Buddhist Stories," "From the Buddha's Realm" and "The Book of Genius." He also wrote a little book of "English Sketches," the outcome of his many visits to England. In addition, his literary activity found expression in the publication of a little Buddhist magazine which he called "New Buddhism," which had a very hard struggle to exist during the war. But after the war, when he had more financial means, he issued a much better and larger magazine at irregular intervals called "The Scrap-Collection," the contents of both these magazines being entirely written by himself. They expounded his own idea of what Buddhism means to Europe and European thought, and were extremely interesting as the revelation of a profound intellect working upon the material supplied it by one of the oldest and most rational religions in the world.

As he went on thinking upon Buddhism he finally came to the decision that it was not enough to introduce it, as he had endeavoured to do, into the mere thought of Europe; he felt that some attempt ought to be made to embody it in Europe's life. Accordingly, as soon as his means permitted it, after the war he procured a plot of land on the outskirts of a Garden City about thirteen miles outside of Berlin (but included in Greater Berlin) and there built himself a house which he called the "Buddhist House," where he lived with two of his sisters as housekeepers, and in the grounds he had built a number of erections meant to serve as places to which those who wished might retire and live in solitude for the practice of thought and meditation. Here, to his House, he welcomed any one who cared to come whether Buddhist or not, who were willing to observe the rules of the house, celibacy, vegetarianism, no music no news-paper reading, no frivolous talk, and as much as possible, silence. Meanwhile he earned the means of supporting the House by the diligent practice of his profession, no longer, as before the war, ever leaving it for travel in the east. Indeed, towards the end, his heart-weakness forbade his ever leaving the house, or even going up or down stairs except in the most painfully slow manner. Yet he still worked on, giving addresses at the Temple in the grounds of his house, on Buddhist subjects once a month to crowded audiences; editing and writing his magazine, and giving lectures on medical and Buddhist subjects; and finally in writing of a medical work in which he sought to bring medicine also within the purview of Dhamma principles.

Be Kind to Animals Week

The Young East (June) supplies us with an instructive bit of information:

Thanks to the tireless efforts put forth by the Nihon Jindo Kai or Japan Humane Society, the citizens of Tokyo were given an object lesson in right treatment of animals during the last week of May. During the week which was called "Be Kind to Animals Week," every conceivable measure was taken by the members and friends of the association to show to the general public that to treat animals with more kindness was not only right but profitable. The most spectacular was a parade of 200 carthorses through some of the principal streets. It was the first of the kind to be held in this country and attracted great attention of the public to the condition of work-horses. Prizes were given to exemplary drivers who were found to have treated their horses with kindness.

Cannot our Indian S.P.C.A.S. organise something like this?

Woman and Sacrilege

The same journal for July puts forth a plea for the removal of the religious barriers which operate against woman within the Buddhistic world. Writes the Journal:

It is astonishing that in this age of modern girls there are still men and many at that who still cling to the prejudices that women are unclean creatures and must therefore be rigidly excluded from grounds considered "sacred" from early times. Mr. Koya, for instance, had been closed to women for centuries until some years ago. We had thought there no longer existed any such place in Japan, but we now find that we were mistaken. According to a press report, a dispute is now going on between the priests of a monastery on Mt. Omine in Nara Prefecture and about 10,000 devotees as to whether the mountain, hitherto closed to women, should be opened to them or not. It appears that the Rev. Shinko Katsuma, head priest of the Ryusenji, one of the adjunct temples to the main temple on the mountain, has made a plan of admitting women to the main temple and has already secured the consent of the controlling board of Godai branch in Kyoto which partly controls the temples on Mt. Omine. Learning of it, the leading adherents in Osaka and elsewhere, known as Sango-gumi, who exercise powerful influence among the groups of adherents who make it their perennial practice to climb the mountain because of their devotion to Buddhism, have started agitation in opposition to the above said plan, on the ground that it is sacrilegious to allow women to visit the "sacred" precincts. We would suggest to the priests of Mt. Omine, with whom we are in thorough sympathy, to circulate among their opponents a translation of Dr. Kimura's treatise entitled "Women in Buddha's Eye," which we published in this magazine some months ago. It will disillusion those bigoted men and open their eyes to the fact that Buddha never regarded women as "unclean."

Political Ideas and Actions

Mr. Crane Brinton writing about the 'Political Ideas of the Jacobin Clubs' in *Political Science Quarterly* concludes with these observations :

Ideas do not make desires [any more than desires make ideas. The two are merged organically and not mechanically in human life. Therefore, no arguments shrouded in metaphors which make inarticulate desires the driving force in politics can hold. Steam certainly makes a steam engine go; but at present we can only say of human beings that life makes them go. This conception of life is not purely mystical, and much of it is subject to logical analysis. But when such analysis denies itself, and seeks to separate thought from any manifestation of human life, as when it declares that political ideas are results but not causes, it must assume the burden of a completely mechanist philosophy. And mechanism, with its too simple doctrine of causation, shows signs of failing even the physicist.

Rousseau's philosophy obviously was part of the lives of the men who made the French Revolution. No one can glance at contemporary records and doubt that. And that is enough. The question as to whether they would have acted differently had Rousseau never existed is at bottom an idle one, since again it assumes that political action is

mechanical, and that a force, once weighed, can be subtracted from the whole. The eighteenth century itself may be allowed to have the final word in this matter. For, as to the Rousseau of the Revolution, *s'il n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer.*

Spencer and Syntheic Philosophy

Mr. Alexander Goldenweiser assigns in *Evolution* to Herbert Spencer the following role which he so fittingly played :

In a sense Herbert Spencer rather than Darwin should be regarded as the father of Evolution. Under the sweep of his integrating intellect, the hypothesis of evolutionary development reached a comprehensiveness and a logical rigor which no one else either before or after Spencer was able to transcend or equal.

After a brief narration of his early life writer proceeds :

Having a rather delicate constitution and being a poor reader, Spencer hardly could have achieved what he did, if not for the stimulation he derived from the counsel and criticism of such figures as John Tyndall, the physicist, John Stuart Mill, Huxley, Hooker, George Eliot, and Lewis. The direct inspiration for his evolutionary theory, Spencer derived from Von Baer's work on embryology, Charles Lyell's contributions to geology, and Malthus's "Essay on Population," which had inspired so many other notable achievements. Darwin influenced Spencer only directly as the "Principles of Biology" had appeared Spencer at once accepted the theory of natural selection as a striking formulation of the mechanism of biological evolution, and made it his own by incorporating it in the second edition of the "Biology."

But for Spencer the world was a unity: evolution, if true in biology, had to apply to the entire cosmos. Thus we find that in his "First Principles," Spencer enunciated evolution as a universal process manifesting itself in the phenomena of inanimate matter, life, mind and society. This determined the scope of the synthetic philosophy which comprised the "principles" of Biology, Psychology, Sociology, and Ethics. Unfortunately, the two volumes which were to deal with cosmology and geology remained unwritten, so that Spencer's ideas in these two domains must be gleaned from the schematic treatment in the "First Principles."

Spencer's "Biology" contains two important principles: Individuation varies inversely with propagation, or the more an organism does for the race, the less is it able to do for itself; and 2. Acquired characters are inherited, meaning by this that physical or psychic traits acquired by an individual in the course of his life are transmissible of the offspring.

Areoplanes help Archaeology

In the *Thelosophical Path* an observer in the 'archaeological field' thus finds areoplanes,

the latest triumph of modern invention to be a handmaid of archaeology, concerned with the early triumphs of ancient skill.

How strange it would have seemed a few years ago to be told that in no long time flying-machines would prove of great service in archaeological discovery! And yet this has come to pass. An aerial photograph of an important hill seven miles north of Jerusalem in Palestine was found to show a depression hardly noticeable from the ground. Excavation was started and an ancient temple with the remains of five different towns, one above the other, were found. The temple was built about 900 B. C., but the oldest town was at least five thousand years old, perhaps from the Canaanite period.

In England slight differences in color of the grass, invisible from the ground but quite clear from the air, have enabled archaeologists to distinguish traces of early agricultural systems which are found to be quite different from the later Roman and Saxon field-arrangements, and which are now being studied with great care.

U. S. Vital Statistics for 1927

According to Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the British Island, 'an amazing transformation in the public health of England' has been effected in recent years. The U. S. Census Bureau report on the vital statistics of the States in 1927, as indicated by the following from *The New Republic* (July 11), is no less amazing:

The infant death rate has been still further reduced; whereas, ten years ago, a death rate of 100 per 1,000 live births per annum was not uncommon in the thirty-three states which comprise the registration area, the average for 1927 was only 64.3. This is an amazingly good record; even New Zealand, which leads the world in this respect, did not pass this figure until just before the Great War, and the American problem is greatly complicated by the presence of the Negro and the Mexican and other immigrants. Oregon, for example, with a large native white population, has a death rate of only 47.5 which is not far behind the New Zealand record, while Arizona, with a huge recent Mexican influx, has a rate of 125.8. The death rate for the population as a whole continues to decline though at a slow pace which suggests that it may soon become stationary; it was 11.4 in 1927. The birth rate has also declined, from 20.6 in 1926 to 20.4. This net increase of nine per annum per thousands is still one of the largest in the western world, and is likely to diminish, as it is doing in almost every European country.

The Indian Vital Statistics have a different tale to narrate, as we know.

Age Limit for Workers

Mr. James J. Davis, U. S. Secretary of Labour, protests under caption "Old Ago" at fifty reprinted in *Monthly Labour Review* (June) against 'arbitrary age limit' that obtains Mr. Davies says in effect:

The practice of setting an arbitrary age limit for employment is anti-social and unsound, according to an article by the Secretary of Labor. Some plants class a worker as old at 50 years of age, and in some the age limit is even lower than 50. In occupations requiring youthful strength there may have been some justification for this practice in former years. Now, with industry highly mechanised, skill and experience are more valuable in a worker than brute strength. On the whole, a machine operator is probably better at 60 than at 20 (p. 1).

Shop Closing Legislation in Europe

International Labour Review (July) discusses the above subject, and says on the regulation of opening and closing hours:

THE REGULATION OF OPENING AND CLOSING HOURS

To prevent confusion, a distinction must be made between three very different things: "the hours between which shops may be open"; "the length of time shops may be open", and "the hours of work of the employee". To bring out this distinction, the case of Poland may be cited where the hours between which shops may be open cover a period of 16 hours, but a shop may not stay open more than 10 hours, and employees may not work more than 8 hours.

Most laws state both the hour of opening and the hour of closing. In Great Britain, the Irish Free State, Rumania, and certain Swiss cantons, however, the legal restriction applies only to the closing hour.

In several cases it has been found necessary to insert certain special regulations in the Act itself.

In this way the hours between which shops working under normal conditions, or the large majority, may keep open have been reduced to the narrowest possible limits, except for certain classes of establishment with very special working conditions. With the same intention some laws—for instance, those of Basle Town and Czechoslovakia—allow the administrative authorities, either communal or provincial, in particular cases to authorise permanently the opening or closing of shops at other hours, better suited to the needs of the local population.

Our Day of Independence'

Unity (July 2) of Chicago 'proposes to celebrate' the Fourth of July—the day of American independence—"by levelling a few questions at the American President,

be he President Coolidge, in absentia, or the prospective President Smith, Thomas or Foster." 'A quiz for the President' is this:

OUR DAY OF INDEPENDENCE

This editor-citizen propose to celebrate the day by leveling a few questions at the President be he President Coolidge, in absentia, or the prospective President Hoover, Smith, Thomas or Foster.

Do you believe in our Declaration of Independence? Do you "hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Also, Governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the Governed." There are other things to be mentioned—and quite important too—but these are enough to believe for one day.

You are asked to cast your eyes across the Pacific and note what America and Britain are doing in China, where people, whom the Creator made our "equal," are struggling for independence as we struggled for independence in 1776? Do you believe our Declaration to the world—made at that time? Have you not some way of communicating to the Chinese that we Americans are with them?*

Nationalism at Geneva

The Inquirer makes the following observation on this subject, which we, as our readers know perceived sometime ago:

NATIONALISM AT GENEVA

It is deeply disturbing to hear, on the authority of a correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, that appointments to the highest offices in the League of Nations Secretariat are being made not from among men of international outlook and reputation, as was at first the case, but from among professional diplomats in the service of the Great Powers, on whose Governments they are dependent for their future careers. Not only Italy (whom we know of) but other Powers, it is asserted, are using their countrymen as their agents, a practice which must undermine mutual confidence and co-operation within the Secretariat. We hope the Assembly will take cognisance of these criticisms.

The Power of the Pen

Writing on the above subject in *The China Journal* (July) Arthur De C. Sowerby compares the power of the pen with the power of the lungs:

We know how much value has always been set on oratory, the power to express sustained thought in eloquent language to a group of fellow beings. Writing, while it loses a certain amount of

the moving power of oratory, yet has the advantage of enormously increasing the number of people to whom the thoughts it sets down can be conveyed.

In any case this new instrument in men's hands came to be enormously revered, and we have that reverence reflected to-day in the value set upon the written word by the general mass of the people. To enormous numbers of people what is printed and published is looked upon as indisputable fact. How often have we experienced this in our daily contacts with our fellow beings? "Here it is in black and white," they say in regard to some statement or fact in dispute, and that, as far as they are concerned, seems to settle the argument.

It is this, perhaps, more than anything else that gives the pen its power. Of course, in writing just as in talking, eloquence counts a great deal, but the fundamental fact that writing is something set down in a permanent form seems to give it a tremendous advantage over mere talking, and to make of the pen a weapon in the eternal conflict of man against man that is far superior to the sword. *Cedit ensis calamo.*

The Embargo on Thought

Japan sees 'red,' and is launching measures to stifle some 'thought' in middle and higher schools. This has led *the Japan Weekly Chronicle* (July 19) to enter a spirited protest against 'the embargo on thought':

Reaction has made great strides in Japan during the past couple of years. First there was a campaign against "thought" in middle and higher schools. Numerous prosecutions were made of high school boys, and their associations for the study of social questions were suppressed throughout the country. But it was definitely stated that so far as the universities were concerned, the students might study whatever they pleased. This still left some liberty of thought, and it was obvious that the way to ensure university students taking a lively interest in the undesired subjects was to put an embargo on all acquaintance with them until university days. Perhaps this effect was soon felt, for it was not long before a determined weeding out of progressive professors took place. There were some protests among the more liberal of their colleagues at this weeding out, but the protests were not sustained and afterwards died away altogether. And at the present time we find extraordinary actions being taken for the suppression of freedom of thought without any protests whatever being raised. The proceedings of reactionaries are seldom surprising they are always true to type and are but a repetition of history; but the silence of liberal thinkers is a much more serious matter. Does it mean that there has been a general conversion and that no leading men wish any longer for thought to have free expression except within such narrow limits as the official world thinks desirable? If there had been any such 'conversion' there would be no need to drive professors from their posts whenever they showed signs of independent

* Do you know that Sun Yat Sen was a disciple of Abraham Lincoln?

thinking, and there would be no need of making such drastic regulations as to the qualifications of students for entry to a university. The silence can certainly not be interpreted as an indication of the unanimous assent of all thinkers to the action recently taken, for that action would then have no motive. On the contrary, the measures taken for suppression imply that there is a great deal of thought which would be expressed if only there were any liberty of speech.

War Lies

The same journal for June 21st observes in referring to Mr. Arthur Ponsonby's book :

We laugh at bumpkins for their willingness to believe every wild tale they hear, but experiences during the war show that we have nothing to laugh at Mr. Arthur Ponsonby has collected details about all the horrors with which the papers used to regale us during that period of frightfulness (*Falsehood in Wartime*. By Arthur Ponsonby, M. P. London : Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum St. 2s. 6d.) Here are the Belgian babies without hands, the German corpse factory, the Lusitania medal, the Louvain Altar-piece, all the stories which sustained the angry passions through those five terrible years. Of course, the campaign of falsehood was not conducted by the British Government alone. All the Governments were equally busy in running their lie factories. In Germany the favourite atrocity story seems to have been the gouging out of the eyes of wounded soldiers. It was denied again and again but was always revived, "a whole bucketful of soldiers' eyes" being one report. One curious point about the atrocities is that when it was proved that they did not happen at the place first stated they always jumped somewhere else. Also the same stories, discredited in one country were repeated in another. The United States proved a great field for such propaganda, which was encouraged by the British Secret Service. The most gross and palpable falsehoods were accepted with astonishing credulity, and Pershing himself had to deny them when they became too outrageous. In such cases the denials were not believed, however, and probably to-day there are people who still cling to these fables which insulted our intelligence during the war years. Mr. Ponsonby has dug them all up, stories, denials and all, and preserved them in a handy form for future reference. But when the next war comes we shall not refer to them but go on believing all we hear just the same.

Christian Missions on Economic World Problem

In the two weeks from March 28, April 8. The International Missionary Council that assembled at Jerusalem "faced frankly the question of the place of missionary enterprise in the post war world" and decided to form a Bureau of Social and Economic

Research Information. In *Current History* (August), Mr. Samuel Guy Inman indicates its 'new world policy,' which shows clearly its recognition of the part played by economic problems :

The report of the Commission on Economic Conditions pointed out some of the more outstanding economic ventures undertaken by so-called "advanced countries," which send economic agents to so-called "backward peoples," who are asked to submit to those countries' economic dominance, on the one hand, while on the other hand, they are asked to receive the spiritual ministry of the missionaries. The report said in part.

Experience shows that among the most prolific causes of friction among nations has been the rivalry of competing imperialisms to secure preferential access to sources of raw materials, markets and opportunities of investment in the still undeveloped regions of the world. It is of vital importance to the future of civilization that this rivalry, ruinous alike to the nations engaged in it and to the indigenous populations, should be brought under control. Such control can be established only by the action of an international authority, which can do impartial justice to the claims of all nations. The International Missionary Council looks forward, therefore, to such an extension of the activities of the League of Nations and of the International Labor Organization and other similar movements as may result in the creation of an international code defining the mutual relations between the various Powers interested in colonial expansion, and the indigenous population affected by it. It regards the economic functions of the League in relation to such matters as loans, concessions, labor and tariff policy and communication as among the most important branches of its work, and desires to see them extended as widely and as rapidly as possible.

Democracy in China : Is it a Failure ?

Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C. I. E., I. S. O., Late Advisor on Chinese Affairs and Assistant Secretary to the Government of Burma, takes a survey of the situation and problems of China in *The Asiatic Review* and concludes.

Upon the evidence adduced and commented upon above, I pass my final judgment that "Democracy in China cannot yet be pronounced a failure, but that, under happier auspices, it may thrive and prosper and be conducive to the happiness and contentment of the Chinese people, so that China may take her proper and rightful place in the Comity of Nations at no distant date." In my judgment, I use advisedly the expression "under happier auspices," because China, under her present circumstances, cannot move hand or foot without the assistance and guidance of the "Big Five Powers"—namely, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—who, by signing the Treaty of Versailles in 1918, secured the peace and prosperity of Europe, and indirectly of the world in general. If that peace is required to be confirmed, solidified, and perpetuated, it behoves the same "Big Five" to come to the rescue of

China. Above all, the United States, which has an overflowing Exchequer, and which is noted for her Generosity, Philanthropy, and Altruism in propagating Culture and Medical Science for alleviating human suffering, should take a prominent part in this humanitarian campaign in China.

Mr. Paul Blanshard in speculating on 'The Future of China' in *The World Tomorrow* (July) finds that the remedy for the Yellow Peril lies with the West itself. Says he:—

When China has completed the present process of unification and militarization there is only one thing which can prevent her from joining an Asiatic bloc against the West, that is a rebirth of social-democratic anti-imperialism in the United States and Europe. At present we in the West are not fit to associate on terms of confidence and goodwill with an honest Chinese government. We can win the permanent friendship of the new China only if we force our State Department to break off the present military and diplomatic alliance with Japan and Great Britain in China. In the long run that means the repudiation of the ancient policy of protecting private dollars abroad with American human beings in uniform. That policy has already ceased to pay in China. A militarized and unified China will make it doubly unprofitable.

Persia—Free At Last

So thinks the *Literary Digest* (July 21) in reproducing under the above heading the

various comments of the western writers on Persia's abolition of the old unequal advantages gained over her by foreigners.—The significance of the step for Asia is apparent.

Two Severe Limitations, so we are told, have beset Persia's sovereignty until within the past few days. Tho "for years nominally independent, she "had to allow foreigners within her borders to be tried by their own consular courts," and she was not mistress of her own customs tariff." Both limitations are now at an end, and an English writer, H. Wilson Harris, feels that this may be "a matter of much consequence," for "Persia "is far from being a negligible country," tho "all our tendency is to underrate her importance, except, of course in the matter of oil" and in that of her veto, now withdrawn, on British air service across her territory, which lies on the route between Egypt and India.

In the London *Westminster Gazette*, Mr. Harris defends his belief in Persia's importance by explaining, "To begin with, Persia is one of the only five independent States in Asia, a continent which apart from Japan and China, Persia, Afghanistan and Siam, consists entirely of dependencies. Consequently, Persia can claim with some justice to be regarded, as one of the few mouthpieces of Asia at Geneva and elsewhere."

India has also a voice at the Geneva Hall—but she only echoes 'her master's voice,' and it is often keyed to a note quite antagonistic to that which the interest of Asia (or even of India) demands.

A LABOUR VIEW OF SWARAJ IN INDIA

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

SOME days ago we read the following news in the daily press.

London, Aug. 19.

Reviewing Mr. Lajpat Rai's reply to "Mother India," Mr. Tom Johnston, Labour M. P. for Dundee, who recently toured India, ridicules the idea that Swaraj is the sole or sovereign cure for ignorance and poverty.

"America," he declared, "has Swaraj but the lynching of negroes continues; Britain has Swaraj but masses of the people still live in ignorance and poverty. Let not Mr. Lajpat Rai delude himself that when the Indian army is officered by the sons of zeminders and babus and a Raja or a Pandit sleeps in the Viceroy's bed ignorance and poverty will flap their wings and flee from Hindustan. That is a delusion of political infants. The remedy for Indian poverty is not Swaraj but Socialism along with the abolition of usury, private landlordism and capitalism—Englishman."

It is very strange how during recent years leaders of British Labour have developed a strong antagonism to the Indian Independence Movement. One reason for this is that many Labour leaders have not the moral courage necessary for renouncing

Labour's Share of the Imperial Loot, which is naturally and largely involved in any successful culmination to the Swaraj agitation. Another reason is that the views of the Indian Nationalists do not in all details agree with the views held by some Labour Extremists i.e., those who advocate Communism, destruction of the Middle class or Nationalisation of all capital.

Now, if we could remove these two discordant features from the field of Indian Nationalist-British Labour *entente*, we might arrive at some sort of a clear understanding with British Labour. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to dislodge any imperialistic greed that might be lurking in the secret places of the heart of British Labour. As to Labour extremism, we regret we do not see eye to eye with its advocates. In the language of Mr. Tom Johnston of Dundee, we may say that we do not think "Socialism is the sole or sovereign cure for ignorance and poverty."

Take equal distribution of wealth, for example. By adopting this method of distribution of wealth one can assure to each member of the community an income equal to the average per capita income of the community. But this method of distributing wealth does not by some magic increase the total national wealth and where poverty is due to the smallness of the annual national income, communism is hardly a cure for poverty. In India, if we had communism each member of the Indian nation will have an income varying according to the estimate of different authorities as follows. *

| Authority | Date of estimate | Amount of annual income |
|---|------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Rs. as. p. |
| Dadabhai Naoroji | 1870 | 20 0 0 |
| Baring-Barbour | 1882 | 27 0 0 |
| Digby | 1898-99 | 18 9 0 |
| Digby | 1900 | 17 4 0 |
| Lord Curzon | 1901 | 30 0 0 |
| Findlay Shirras | 1911 | 50 0 0 |
| B. N. Sarma, (quoted) in Council of State) | 1911 | 86 0 0 |
| K. T. Shah | 1921-22 | 46 0 0 |

So that the knowledge that one's extreme poverty is shared equally by all Indians, even if a palliative of suffering, will not remove the poverty itself. Also while it will not materially lessen the suffering of most Indians who are now used to a very low standard of living, it will drag millions into dire misery due to a lowering of their standard of living. On the whole, it will create more solid misery than it will remove. Moreover, communism at this stage of our economic progress will intensively affect the accumulation of fresh capital on which the economic future of India depends to a very large extent.

If one could look at communism through the halo that it has been provided with by British and other economic-fetishists, one would perhaps have it at any cost; but looking at it, as we do, as merely a way of distributing wealth to individuals, we might be excused if we challenged its suitability and efficacy. One can consume wealth only as an individual. There can be no such thing as communal consumption of wealth in the real sense of the term. The coat that I put on covers *my back* and not a section of that (non-existent) Greater Back *The Back of the Community*. I may have come by the

coat in one way or another, through some capitalistic institution or through communism; but the vital fact remains to me, that the coat covers *my back* and does so well.

Similarly if we look at Socialism, State Capitalism, or any other economic juju in the cold light of facts dissociated from all religious sentimentality, we easily realise that they are also economic methods and *not virtues* having any absolute claim on our life and loyalty. Social capital may be managed, worked, added to and guarded either by individual sanction or by social sanction. Neither the one way nor the other is immune to abuse. The officers of a State Capitalistic institution could be just as wasteful, shortsighted or stupid as any Chetti, Marwari or Jew. It is not true that under social management capital will necessarily be always properly used; accumulated and conserved, no more than it is true that company management of railways or factories is always inferior and less efficient compared to State management. So that socialism in itself is no guarantee of economic progress and prosperity, as Mr. Tom Johnston would like us to believe. There is little difference between the mental attitude of Mr. Tom Johnston of Dundee and that of the clergyman from the same locality who thought that it was the Holy Bible which alone could give India all that was good and necessary for her.

Englishmen (including Scots and other Britishers) are by nature conventional and even Pure Reason runs the risk of being conventionalised in the hand of an Englishman, specially of the middle class. We have tried to go a little deep into Mr. Tom Johnston in connection with communism and socialism. Let us now do the same with Swaraj, Zemindars, Babus, Rajas and Pundits.

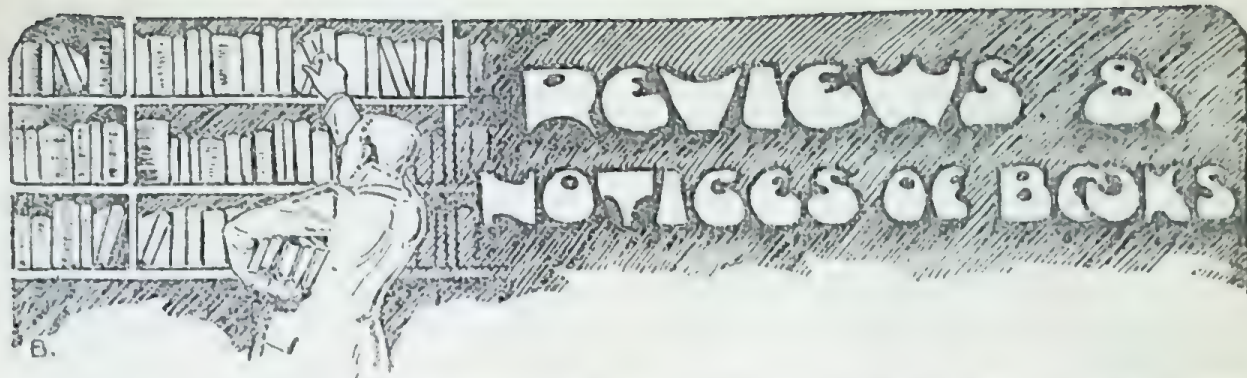
One has no reason to think that Mr. Tom Johnston has not received the average school education given to every British Boy under the present capitalistic government of great Britain. For does he not show all the prejudices that the average British boy imbibes from his school books? Also his stunted logic? There is Swaraj in America, still there is lynching; therefore, the lynching must be either due to the Swaraj or be totally unrelated to it either positively or negatively! God must be on the side of British Labour or how could the Cause survive advocates with such giant intellects?

* Shah and Khambata; *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, p. 68.

Does not Mr. Johnston know that lynching is slowly disappearing from America under their Swaraj, even as slavery did some decades ago? Doesn't he also know that, though lynching persisted in America inspite of Swaraj, a thousand other good things came as a result of it. For example, the coming of Swaraj in America saved that country from British exploitation, bullying and standstill-do-as-your-fathers-have-done-ism. As a result America to-day leads the world, including Great Britain, and she can boast of great achievements in practically every field of life. Mr. Tom Johnston also points out that England has Swaraj as well as poverty and ignorance. As everybody knows that under English Swaraj poverty and ignorance are fast disappearing from England, need one quote figures to show how with the growth of democracy all sorts of evils have progressively disappeared from that country? In this connection also Mr. Johnston has proved a failure as a clear thinking realist. For, just as in his mind he has made gods out of Socialism, State Capitalism etc. he thinks that we Indian nationalists have similarly made a god out of Swaraj. For his information we may say that we have done nothing of the kind. We know that Swaraj, like Communism, Socialism and Labour leadership, may not function properly and beneficially of itself and that abuse of Swaraj may yield just as much evil as abuse of State Capitalism. A Soviet Parliament could be as stupid and tyrannical as, let us say, the British Parliament. So that, if Mr. Johnston has only attempted to tell us that if we abused Swaraj we would suffer he has wasted his breath. But if he means to suggest that Swaraj properly used will yield no benefit to us, unless we instituted Communism along with it, we regret, we cannot agree with him. Swaraj is the first step, (the main spring, we might say) to every kind of progress in India. (if we wanted Communism that also involves our having Swaraj first; for our present masters are a bit too fervent in their anti-communism.) A study of progressive legislation in India and how it has been hampered in the name of non-interference will easily prove the urgency of having Swaraj. A study of India's budgets and the proportions of non-exhaustive and exhaustive expenditure will confirm one's faith in Swaraj as a "Sovereign cure" for India's backwardness.

Mr. Johnston, being a modern socialist, does not certainly believe in Special Creation, determinism and the unscientific anthropological superstitions that infest the mind of the Nordic Superiority mongers. Why does he then try to belittle the possibilities of running the Indian Army by "the sons of Zemindars and Babus"? Why does he think that a Raja or a Pandit will be less efficient (or not more efficient) than an English Peer, Scotch banker or a Jewish stock-broker? There are no biological or anthropological reasons which would justify any belief in the innate inferiority of the Zemindar, Babu, Raja or Pandit as soldier or administrator. A race which has produced some of the greatest soldiers and administrators in history cannot degenerate so far during a hundred and fifty years of British domination as to be unable ever to make history repeat itself. A conquered nation can surely rise when the impulse to rise comes from within. England herself did not go down for ever after the conquests she had undergone. Italy, Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Spain, Greece, etc., are other examples. As a matter of fact, whatever Mr. Johnston's view point may be, the British people themselves do not think the Indians such incapable soldiers and administrators after all. For, did they not generously allow many sons of Zamindars and Babus to fight for them during the war? Had the war lasted longer probably more Zamindars and Babus would have got a chance to shed their blood for the British. As to administration, we believe many Rajas and Pandits acquit themselves fairly well as rulers everyday. Would we consider the Nizam, the Gaekwar, the Maharaja of Mysore and many other Rajas as worse than some viceroys? And would we consider Pandit Madan Mohun Malviya or Pandit Motilal Nehru or Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (now dead) as worse possibilities as viceroys compared to Mr. Tom Johnston who might be sent to rule at Simla by the next Labour Government?

Our view is that just as all Englishmen are not good soldiers and administrators, similarly all Indians be they Zemindars, Babus, Rajas or Pandits, are not bad soldiers and administrators. With proper selection we could get the best men to fight our battles and manage our state affairs. Such selection is no possible under a system in which servility is counted as the greatest qualification. It is possible only under Swaraj.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

RICHELIEU : By Karl Federn, English Translation by B. Miall (G. Allen and Unwin), with 27 illustrations. 12s. 6d. net.

America has conquered England—we mean, not in finance alone. The American method of brass band advertising has been adopted by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, an indisputably British firm. They have most thoughtfully prodded their dull-headed reviewer by telling him (and incidentally the reader too), in the jacket of the book, that this work "is as interesting as a novel, always readable and always lucid and intelligible." A life of the man who worked the central power-station of Europe for eighteen years and remoulded the institutions of France—and of its imitators in other monarchies of the *ancien regime*, too—nearest to his heart's desire, if compressed as here into 230 clearly printed pages, must be an addition to the railway library if it is to be read at all. And we admit that the publisher's claim as to its clearness and ease of style is justified.

Karl Federn belongs to the new school of writers of Historical biography without tears. He avoids the acidulated wit of Lytton Strachey and the erratic originality of Ludwig. The book is no doubt thin and the serious reader will learn more about Richelieu and his work from the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IV, while the result of the special researches conducted in France during the last half century cannot be expected in a small popular volume like this. But it is quite good so far as it goes.

We draw the reader's special attention to Chapter XI (the administration). A review of Richelieu's difficulties and achievements gives student of Indian history much food for thought. He asks himself how did a minister without family connections or a strong party behind him but dependent upon the caprice of a half-witted king, and opposed by an imperious and wicked queen-mother, with jealous and turbulent nobles filling the Court and a silent powerless population at the

base of Society,—succeed in healing the internal troubles of France, crush both Huguenots and feudal barons, and make French diplomacy and arms triumph over those of Spain which had so long dazzled the eyes of Europe? The answer is not only Richelieu's clear-sighted genius for perceiving what was possible with his available forces and the best method of utilising these forces, but also the public spirit of the vast middle class of France and of several of the nobles, which made them put their country's interests above everything else and do their duty, each in his own sphere, regardless of political rewards actual or prospective. If Richelieu's system, failed it was because his successors had not prescience enough to inaugurate an advance even after the foundation laid by him had consolidated. There is a time in the history of every nation when stagnation is no less a danger than any "leap in the dark" can be.

EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL—Translation from the Latin of De Laet : By Prof. J. S. Hoyland, with Introduction and Notes by Prof. S. N. Banerjee (Taraporevala) Rs. 5-8.

These two professors have been doing very useful service to students of Indian history by their English renderings of Latin writers on the Mughal empire like Father Monserate and De Laet. The latter was a Dutchman who stayed at home as a Director of the Dutch E. I. Co. and compiled a Latin descriptive account of the Mughal empire in 1631. The first part is really a gazetteer of Jahangir's India. It is "a movement of painstaking industry and a storehouse of varied information." De Laet "assiduously pieces together facts dug out of a host of writings and closely reproduces them." The second part is a chronicle of the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir originally written in Dutch (by Pelsaert most probably) and translated into Latin by De Laet.

The original sources of the information contained in the two parts were Persian manuscripts but

all their proper names and in some cases the facts also, have undergone a strange transformation in being done into Dutch and from Dutch into Latin, especially as the author of the published book was ignorant of Persian. Many names have been corrupted beyond recognition and it is a heart-breaking task to read the book—valuable as it otherwise is—in spite of all the notes and corrections of Prof. Banerjee. The corrections, however, are anything but exhaustive.

We suggest that when the book goes into a second edition it should be entirely rewritten, with all the corrected proper names in modern Romanized transliteration and obvious errors of fact rectified in the body of the book, instead of in foot-notes as now.

J. SARKAR.

GLIMSES: By T. L. Vaswani. Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1928.

This booklet contains some inspiring thoughts in Professor Vaswani's emotional style. One example will suffice.

"India was great in the day she was strong in the life of the Spirit.

"To-day India lies in the dust, for Her children have changed the pearls of the Rishis for the glittering tinsel of a "civilization" whose gods are greed and bhoga.

"Let this be my word to the Nation's youth: Be simple and strong as the Flame—strengthen it (the inner spirit) with Brahmacharya, with service of the poor and lowly, with the Tapasya of truth and love. Out of strength will grow Greatness, and out of Greatness, Freedom."

THE NEW CIVILISATION: Four lectures delivered at the Queen's Hall, London, in June 1927. By Annie Besant, D. L. Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1928.

This neatly got-up little book contains four lectures delivered in a pleasant gossipy style in which the learned authoress talks of the more spacious days of universal brotherhood and the evolution of a higher humanity of which she sees signs in the new sub-race which is growing up in the "Happy Valley" of California. Incidentally, she manages to put in a word here and there for India, and she gives a definition of the science of yoga which will prove interesting. It is "the union of the human spirit with the divine Life, self-consciously attained. This is won by using the laws of the mind as we know them, just as a gardener desiring to produce fine flowers uses the laws of natural growth in the vegetable kingdom, eliminating those that are against his aim—we find it is possible to develop this intuition ahead of our race, and so to attain the knowledge of the eternal verities before that knowledge is reached by the average evolution, which only works slowly by the many workings and antagonisms in Nature; whereas evolution can work more rapidly when the antagonisms are eliminated, and the powers we desire to develop are given their full scope."

POL.

THE LIGHT OF CHRIST: By John S. Hoyland, M. A.: Published by the Swarthmore Press Ltd, London Pp. 64. Price 2s. 6d. (cloth) 1s. 6d (paper).

This booklet contains the Swarthmore Lectures for 1923. "The Lectureship has a two-fold purpose—first, to interpret farther to the members of the Society of Friends their message and mission: and secondly, to bring before the public the spirit, the aims and the fundamental principles of the Friends" (Preface.)

The book has been written in a loving and liberal spirit. The author has found many beautiful thoughts in Plato, Plotinus and the Gita. About the Gita the author writes:—

"There is much that we may learn from the great ethical message which rings through the Gita, that duty must be done for its own sake alone, without anxiety for results and the devotional message of the Gita is unquestionably one of the great spiritual assets of mankind, a message which is for all ages and for all races. Especially, as the Christian reads it, must he be filled with shame at the thought that his own love for Christ is so poor and thin when compared with the trust and love which this Hindu saint, so many centuries ago, felt for God as he had come to know Him" (p. 31).

Our author's Christianity is non-aggressive and spiritual. The book is worth reading.

Mahes Ch. Ghosh

THE CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE: By Mr. A. C. Ghose, M. A. B. L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta. Published by Messrs. N. M. Raychowdhury & Co. 11, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

We have now before us a new edition of A. C. Ghose's Criminal Procedure Code. The book has been brought literally up-to-date (Feb. 1928) by incorporating in it all the recent statutory amendments which the somewhat prolific legislation of our times has effected in the Code. We congratulate the author for having taken particular care in bringing into prominence the characteristic features of individual sections and in noting the points of various decisions under each of them. Most redeeming feature of the book is that the sections have not been burdened with unnecessary load of cases which tendency is found in most of the modern books. The fact that the book has passed through two editions and a third edition has been called for is, we think, sufficient proof of its popularity and usefulness. We commend this useful publication to the legal public.

G. M. S.

BENGALI

SHEEBAN-O-CUTTING SIKSHA: By Srimati Tusharmala Devi. Published by Acharya and Sons, Model Library Dacca and Mymensingh. Price Re 1-8, 1928.

Our authoress's treatment of the subject with the help of illustrations has been marvellous. In this book she has not only dealt with cutting of different kinds of garments but she has given instructions in a simple style, on darning and patching, herring bonning, button-holing, embroidery etc. The printing and get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired and we hope that it will command a wide circulation.

BIPLABER AHUTI: *By Sj. Benoy Krishna Sen. Tarun Sahitya Mandir. 19, Sree Gopal Mallik Lane. Calcutta Re 1*

A translation of Tolstoys "What for" and "The Divine and the Human." These stories depict nicely the picture how the oppressive Russian Government tortured the revolutionists. Printing and get-up excellent.

BIDHAVA BIBAHA: *Translated by Sj. Benoy K. Sen Tarun Sahitya Mandir. 19, Sree Gopal Mallik Lane, 4th Edition. Price -2-6 pies.*

Translation of Mahatma Gandhi's writings on widow remarriage.

P. C. S.

MARATHI

PRATAPGADCHEN YUDDHA: *By Capt. G. V. Modak, Gwalior Army. (1927.) Rs. 3-8, with a volume of plans.*

This work breaks new ground altogether so far as Indian history is concerned, and therefore requires careful consideration if it is to be the progenitor of a new class of books. It is true that the famous campaigns of Anglo-Indian history have been studied by competent British officers from Malleson down to the writers in the *United Service Journal of India*. But this is the first time that an Indian battle of pre-European days has been described and critically commented upon by a writer trained in European military schools and experienced in the command of a modern regiment.

No doubt the principles of war have remained the same from the days of Epaminondas—or rather Rameses II, to those of Marshal Foch; but the difference arises in their application to the circumstances of each age and country. The military pedant sticks to his text-book rules blindly, but the successful general varies his action according to the weapons, the *terrain*, and more than anything else the racial character of his troops as opposed to that of the enemy. Given the same weapons, the same European civilisation, the same period of history, an immense difference is caused by the dissimilarity of national temperament between the two sides. As general Maude writes in his *Jena Campaign*: "Whereas the well-drilled troops of Frederick the Great carried position after position with not more than 15,000 men to the mile, British troops often get through with even less than 10,000. ... Napoleon could only succeed in his attacks with men crowded together at the rate of 100,000 to the mile, and then only as a consequence of his superior artillery preparation." (p. 9)

So, also, the difference in the two modes of advance, the British one of thin *lines* and the French of deep *columns*, caused all the difference in the result of the Peninsular War as Oman has pointed out, and even contributed to Sir Eyre Coote's victory over Lally according to his biographer Wylie.

There is not a scrap of contemporary evidence to prove that any of the minute details and successive steps described in this book by Capt. Modak did *actually* happen. The whole is pure imagination, based on the probabilities of the case. And

the probabilities would have won the complexion of truth if Shivaji had been a military student fed on the text-books of Jomini, Clausewitz and Hamley and experienced in the movements of *modern* European-trained armies. Therefore, as a history or record of what *actually* happened in 1659, this book is absolutely useless.

We also deprecate the fashion of making such books—and indeed many other classes of works—intolerably long by the addition of irrelevant matters and emotional outpourings.

J. Sarkar.

AITHASIK PRASTAWANA: *By the Late V. K. Rajawade. Publisher—The Chitrasala Press, Poona. Pages 500. Price Rs. Three.*

The name of the late V. K. Rajawade is a household word in Maharashtra as an untiring and zealous research-worker, who has left behind a vast treasure in the form of very valuable writings on various subjects, such as Maratha history, Marathi literature, sociology. It would be a great loss to Maharashtra if they were allowed to go into oblivion. The Chitrasala Press has therefore earned hearty thanks of Maharashtra by undertaking their publication in three or four volumes of which the present is the first.

Rajawade resembled Dr. Johnson not only in strong and penetrating intellect, wonderful capacity for work and robust independence of thought, but also in his eccentricities and several other traits of character, and these are visible in his writings. His so-called *Prastawanas* or introductions of which the book under review is a collection had no relation to the subject of the volumes to which they were originally attached (excepting the one on the battle of Panipat) and his assertions in some cases were wide of truth or at any rate were of a questionable or fantastic character. Yet his writings are scholarly and deserve preservation from the rapacities of Time, for who knows future researches may perhaps bear him out.

V. G. Apte

HINDI

1. **MOTHER INDIA AUR USKA JAWAB:** *By Srimati Uma Nehru—Published by Kashinath Bajpai T. Ruyag Street—Allahbad, pp. 186+485+90—Price Rs. 3-8.*

2. **MOTHER INDIA KA JAWAB:** *By Srimati Chandravati Lakhanpuri M. A.—Published by Prof. Satyavrata Siddhantanker Gurukul Kangri—pp 144. Price 0-12.*

No book on India has done more and deserved less to create a sensation than Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. From all quarters of India indignant protests have been still pouring in with such frequency that one is inclined to think that this agitation against Miss Mayo is doing more harm than good, a book that should have been promptly relegated to the dustbin is being unnecessarily advertised and our enemies are slyly suggesting that the lady is protesting too much.

As a full reply to *Mother India* can only come from a committee of publicists hailing from all parts

of India the members of the Legislative Assembly if they are so inclined, may think the matter out.

Mrs. Nehru has done right in not attempting to deal with Miss Mayo by contradicting her lies. In that direction she has done hardly anything beyond giving in the appendix translations of the articles contributed to the Indian Press by Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Natarajan, Rabindra Nath Tagore and others. She has really approached the question from another angle of vision. She goes to the root of the matter and rightly concludes that the reasons of the present unfortunate state of India are not social but political. In her long introduction she traces the relentless, systematic and cold-blooded manner in which England has been emasculating India and depriving her of all that she held most dear. It is an irony of fate that this very England is now talking of our incapability to manage our own affairs. Mrs. Nehru has not stopped at that. She has carried the war into the enemy's camp and exposed the hideous reality underneath the glamour of the European civilization. The basic idea of this civilisation is survival of the fittest. According to western interpretation it means cynical disregard for the feelings of the weak an intense aggrandisement of the self, a suppression of all the nobler emotions of the heart and a blind worship of Mammon. Europe is now riding roughshod over all moral rules and declaring in brazen tones that the whole world exists for the gratification of her insatiable sordid passions and all nations must sacrifice themselves for this noble purpose. Therein lies their salvation. Our country has so often been compared to Europe to its disadvantage that this warning is very welcome.

One thing which is remarkable about Mrs. Nehru's book is her restraint. One should have expected an Indian lady to give way to her feelings while writing about Miss Mayo's work. But she has not done so; she speaks with genuine feeling no doubt but she never has recourse to retaliatory arguments.

Srimati Chandravati's book is fundamentally different in tone and temper. She is an Aryya Samajist and so does not believe in taking things lying down. Like all writers of this class of reformers she too wields a forceful pen. Her language is vigorous and her blows very direct. She does not spare her countrymen either, in the course of her arguments, puts certain very inconvenient questions to the orthodox leaders of Hindu society. She gives the lie direct to Miss Mayo's assertion that there is no reforming zeal in India. In her appendix she draws a lurid picture of America in order to show that there is an ample field for Miss Mayo's activities in America where over 1200 young people between the ages of 15 and 24 take their lives in one year, where with the present state of statistics every marriage will end in divorce in eleven years: where 80 percent of all crimes are committed by children under eighteen, and where 42 percent of unmarried mothers are school girls under sixteen.

India, where even Miss Mayo could not find any trace of oppression against unmarried girls, and where 60 percent of the girls are not even married at the age of 16 has nothing to learn about sex-morality from white people in general (vide chapter 1 of the book for conditions prevailing

in Europe and America) and from Miss Mayo in particular. We are thankful however that Srimati Chandravati with true Indian modesty has left Miss Mayo's past life severely alone.

G.

GUJARATI

We have received two parcels of books from the Commissioner of Education and Vidyadhikari, Baroda State, containing the following books:

(1) *THE WILES OF THE SPIDER*: By *Bhanusukharam N. Mehta*, containing a delightful and scientific description of spider's life and ways.

(2) *JIVAN RASAYANA VIDYA*: By *Jagannath P. Pandit*, a treatise showing how to preserve health.

(3) *MARS*: By *S. R. Gharekham, B.A., LL.B.* comprising all up-to-date information about the planet Mars.

(4) *THE PRIMEVAL HOME OF THE ARYANS*: By the same author discussing the various theories about the place we originally came from.

(5) *SUN*: By *Bhuvanrai H. Vira, B.Sc.*, a translation, rather difficult for ordinary readers to follow.

(6) *THE LIVING ORGANISMS OF A LAKE*: By *Bhanusukharam N. Mehta*, also a translation giving interesting details of the insects and other minute organisms found in lake-waters.

(7) *STHANIK SWARAJYA KI SANSTHAO*: By *Rasji R. Pawar, B.A., LL.B.*, an original work on Local Self-Government.

(8) *THE LIVER*: By *Ghanashyam N. Mehta*, a small book on the construction and functions of the liver.

(9) *ENGLAND AND INDIA*: By the late *Satyendra B. Divatia*, a translation of R. C. Dutt's well-known work of the same name.

(10) *THE EDUCATION OF THE LONDONER*: By *Narhari-sankar S. Shastri, B.A.*, a translation of "Londoner's Education", showing the vast extent of expenditure incurred in educating Londoners and the success of the methods employed therefore.

(11) *JIVAN PRABHAT OF ITALY*: By *Lalitaprasad Shriprasad Dave, B.A., LL.B., B.Sc.*, an independent work showing how Italy rose in the scale of nations.

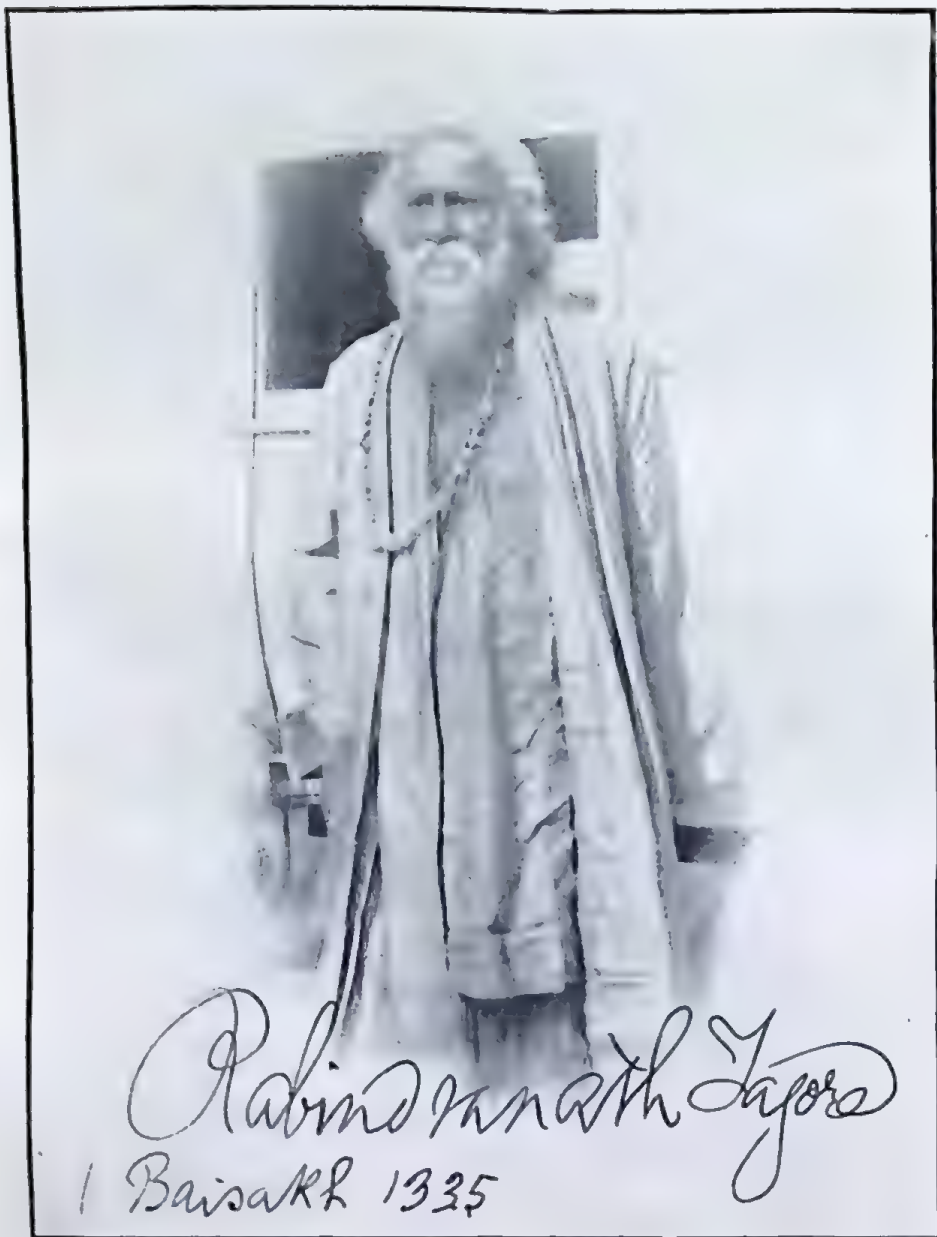
(12) *THE HISTORY OF THE BARODA STATE*: By *Chunilal Maganlal Deshai*, a complete work of the annals of the Baroda State.

(13) *NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, PART IV*. By *Gokuldas Mathuradas Shrivastava, B.A., LL.B.*, constituting the last volume in the series, finished after 15 years' labor.

(14) *SIDDHANTA DARSHAN*: By *Chhotatalal Narsheram Bhatt*, a translation of a Sanskrit work, very important philosophical treatise.

The list shows how varied and useful the activities of H. H. the Gaekwar's Educational Department are.

DARDI: By *Gopalsankar V. Bhachech*. Printed at the *Jnan Mandir Press, Ahmedabad*. Cloth bound pp. 136. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1927).



SJ. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Photo taken on April 14, 1928)

An autobiography of the author who rose from a mere clerkship to a Deputy Collectorship and later to the Divauship of Jamnagar, teaching a lesson of staunch faith in oneself, and determination to overcome difficulties. It contains poems on metaphysical subjects also.

SUDHA SANGRAHA, PART II: *Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and printed at its own press. Cloth bound, pp. 686. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1927).*

A bulky volume containing 260 articles on various useful subjects; from the life of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar to Atma Jnan (self-knowledge). These articles are collected from various newspapers and periodicals and show the very wide range of reading of the selector.

DARSHAN: A tiny little booklet of ten pages, by Chandravalan C. Mehta, B.A., containing feeling verses on bereavement.

K. M. J.

RAM MOHUN ROY

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN the Great Ones of the world come, they bring conflict with them; or their coming had no significance. The multitude which drifts down with the stream places its trust in the ebbing current of humanity. But, for him who would work the boat of life up the stream, there is unending toil. When Ram Mohun Roy came to this country he refused to go along with the moving mass of turbidity which was ever flowing out downstream and which fought him as an enemy every minute up to the very last. The height of the Himalayas is measured only from the different level of the plains all round; it is the hostility of the unenlightened that measures the magnitude of the Great.

In the history of a nation, Man marches onwards, ever amending, ever conquering himself with his own innate, conscious principle, only so long as the vital nature is all-powerful. This is, in fact, the very process of life—this never-ending fight. As we walk, our every step is a challenge to the constant pull of the earth; inertia besets us on all sides, and each of the organs of the body is ever engaged in fighting it. The heart goes on, night and day, in sleep as in waking; the enormous passivity of things stands up against that unrelenting exertion; it is building up, every minute, barricades of fatigue, to be fought down by the heart as long as it has the strength.

The air flows all around us in its blind laws; but the Vital Nature forcibly drags this air along into its own system of

channels. The germs of disease, and conditions favourable to their growth, are everywhere, both within and without us; the army of health is all the time engaged in an unceasing combat against them. The life-process is, in fact, this never ending struggle, this continual warfare between the inert and the living forces, between the battalion of ill-health and the battalion of health. If this relentless struggle weakens, if the forces of rigidity, as against the forces of movement, gain the upperhand in the corporal economy, then the human body begins growing more and more clogged with the accumulating filth of wastage. At last Death, in its mercy, comes down to remove this battle-weary defeat from the world of the living.

The social body, too, is a living organism; and all its evils find their opportunity when its own energy grows sluggish. Its life force, too, trained in fighting, has ever to keep up hostilities against dull intellect, feeble will, against narrow knowledge and poverty in sympathy and loving-kindness. The most powerful of its enemies is apathy of the mind. When the mind weakly surrenders its rightful dominion and wishes to remain immobile, the garbage of slovenliness accumulates and imprisons it. It is through this besetting that Death gradually advances in the field of life. The Great Person who appears at this period, brings along with him a powerful antagonism against the drag of this dead grossness. The feeble spirit, enchained by indiscriminate customs, cry out in anger and pain

against the pressure of his onward urge. The history of India had been standing stagnant for a long time, giving up in weariness of spirit all independent seeking of truth, all adventures of life, and initiation of intelligent operations for its internal and external cleansing; venerating its own deterioration, it had ceased from attempting any readjustment with the changing ages. One by one, almost all the lights of its life had become dimmed through poverty of food, poverty of health and poverty of knowledge. Its defeat had been extending from century to century. Man's defeat comes when his own will abdicates and some external will occupies the vacant throne, when his personal intelligence retires and he clings as a parasite to some foreign intelligence, be it borrowed from his own dead past or imposed upon him from the present of some stranger nation. That is man's defeat when the activities of the spirit are arrested and when he blindly goes on turning the wheels of the machine of habit, fashioned through the succession of the centuries—when he ignores reason and accepts authority, when he lowers the dignity of his innate informing principles and exalts external observances. For him, wearied with the load of decrepitude, there is no escape, through any narrow short-cuts devised by any over-subtle artifice.

Ram Mohun Roy appeared in India at this very period, when the country, in its blindness extending over many centuries, had come to regard vegetation as holiness. Such an overpowering and sudden contrast to one's own country and age is very seldom found in history, and they in a shrill loud voice repudiated him. But it was by that impatient execration that his country proclaimed to all the ages his supreme greatness, and vehemently announced that he had brought the conflict of light against the darkness of the land. He did not follow the futile path of dull intellect by repeating well-worn feeble formulas; he refused the humiliation of being the far-famed leader of the flattered multitude using its stupidity as the foundation for his power; he was never frightened by the unintelligent antagonism of the threatening mob with its upraised stick; through temptation of the ignorant reverence of the crowd, even the slightest deviation from the path of truth was for him an impossibility. He had struck at the demon of unreason,

enshrined through the ages in the altar, and that demon did not forgive him.

He knew that insult to the living spirit brings about a bankruptcy of initiative. For the animal, there is no Swaraj, for it is merely driven by its blind instincts. Man's Swaraj only extends as far as his own intelligent self, the master within him, occupies his social consciousness and inspires his creative activities. The history of man's progress is the history of this extension of Swaraj through the dominance of his self-thinking, self-confidence and self-respect.

The victory of the *atman*, of the higher self of man, has never been proclaimed from the heights of manhood anywhere except in India, with such an unhesitant voice. It was this message that Ram Mohun Roy brought anew, when in the India of his days it had become narrow and perverted, disclaimed in practice. For ages the major part of India was sunk in self-abasement through an unashamed acknowledgement of inferior rights for its multitude in religion and in social affairs, rendering the people unfit for the difficult responsibility of its self-expression. Not only did the mind of India of his times passively discard the claims of this highest right of humanity, but it actively denounced and wounded it.

The strange thing is that Ram Mohun was eager to invoke the message of the spirit not merely within the narrow boundaries of his own self-forgetful land; he assayed, by the test of the spiritual ideal, every great religious community which had in any manner obscured the true form of its own inner self in mere external forms and in irrational rituals.

Only a very few people in the whole world could, in that age, realize through the mind and spirit and express in their lives the Unity of Man as Ram Mohun had done. He realised that it was only when man regarded the external boundaries of his religion as more valuable than its infinite inner significance that man was jealously kept apart from man.

The worldliness of sectarian piety called up pride, hatred and strife, and muddled the whole world with blood, to a degree impossible for any secular cause. In that age of religious exclusiveness he had gained in his heart and expressed in his life the Universal background of Religious Truth.

Though at that period, men had been able to find a place in the knowledge of every civilized man, they had not found the way to his heart. Even to this day, the realization of human unity is hampered, in this world, by so many prejudices born of blind instinct or bred by deliberate training. It is not possible to assert even to-day that a New Age has arrived—an age of solidarity on every side. In our age that wide highway must be opened which would bring together all the human resources in knowledge and in co-operation. A beginning has already been made in the domain of science where caste-distinctions in different departments of knowledge are being removed. Co-ordinated action, too, is gradually gaining in world-commerce—even though trafficking in trickery is still rife round the corners of that winding highway. It is also impossible to deny that a beginning has been made even in the realm of world-politics, though the way is beset with myriads of thorny obstructions. Ram Mohun Roy is the first and foremost of those brave spirits who have stood up, in the face of hostility and misunderstanding, and who in all their varied activities have eloquently welcomed the Spirit of this New Age. He was the herald of India, the very first to bear her offerings to the outside world, and accept for himself and his country the best that the world could offer. He had envisaged in its entirety the truth of man and therefore his service to his country became complexly many-sided, which never narrowed its path of welfare by following the line of least resistance and of immediate expediency.

Ram Mohun had to hew out the way in strenuous struggle, across the unexplored region of Bengali prose, when he was engaged in developing the potentialities of his own language for the self-expression of the people of Bengal. When eager to illuminate the Bengali mind with the philosophy of the spirit, he did not shrink from the difficult endeavour of expounding Vedanta in the yet-unformed Bengali prose to a reading public, some of whose learned men had ventured to scoff at the Upanishads as spurious and considered the Mahanirvana Tantra to be a scripture fabricated by Ram Mohun Roy himself.

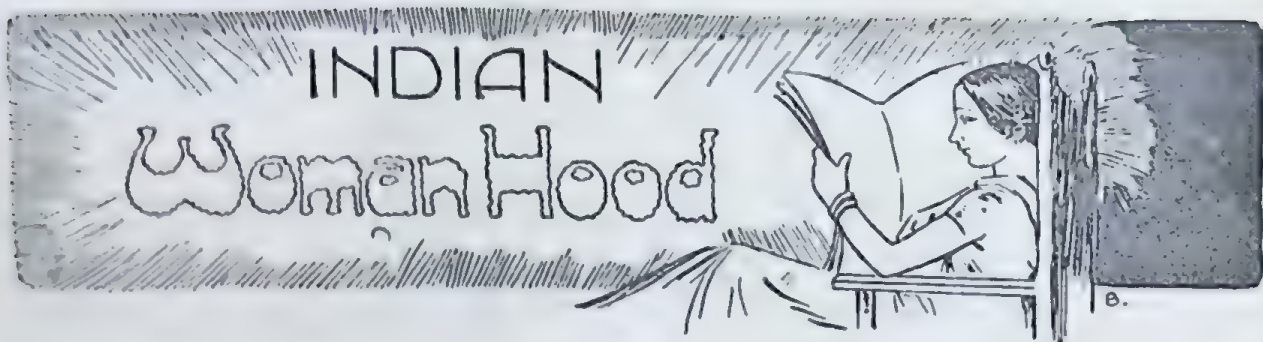
Even in the West woman was really powerless and had her rights restricted on all sides, when Ram Mohun Roy stood up, alone, to support the rights of women in his own society.

There was not even a glimmering of political consciousness in the country when he had demanded respect for his countrymen in the world of politics.

He had faith with all his strength of conviction in the varied elements of human nature. It was not possible for him to have a dwarf's vision of man in any way; for, in him manhood had an extraordinary fullness of manifestation.

More than one hundred years have now gone by; but the true recognition of his greatness still remains incomplete: even to-day it is not an impossibility for his countrymen to do him irreverence; that generous vision to which alone would his magnitude be clearly visible is still enshrouded in mist. But the mist has nothing for which it need be proud, even if it envelope the luminary and rob the morning of its majesty. The sun is the more indelible and the more magnificent. Greatness goes on doing its own work even in the midst of rude obstructions and is not obscured even when light is withdrawn from it.

The force that Ram Mohun had set into motion is still operative to-day; and a day will yet come when the country will attain a translucence of mind freed from dense superstitions and will climb up to an altitude of unobstructed perspective which are essential for realizing Ram Mohun's place in our history and his strong unthwarted magnanimity. Those of us, who have received from him the inspiration to accept man in the completeness of his truth even against profuse contradictions, may feel deeply hurt at each insult levelled at him, but when he was alive the hundreds of insults that were his share could not in any way weaken his beneficent power, and it is this unperturbed power which even after his death will continue, in the face of all contempt and contumely, to sow seeds of fulfilment in the very heart of ingratitude itself.



The Bardoli Satyagraha struggle is over and Bombay government have at last conceded most of the demands put forward by the tenants. In this connection mention must be made of the signal

their hour of trial. Their action proved a tower of strength to the workers, and no small credit is due to them for the successful termination of this peaceful struggle



Srimati Ratnakumari Devi



Mrs. Sharadabai Sumant Mehta

services rendered by MRS. SHARADABAI SUMANT MEHTA. MISS MITRUBEN PETIT, SHRIMATI B. DESAI and other ladies of aristocratic families who sacrificed their ease and comforts and stood by their suffering sisters and brothers in

MISS CHANDRABAI PONKSHEE, B. A. LL. B. has been enrolled as a pleader at Poona. She is the first Marathi lady to achieve this distinction. MISS PONKSHEE is a niece of the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale.



Mrs. Leonissa Fernandez



Mrs. Balkrishna Menon



Miss Seeta Devadoss



Miss Saradatai Naidu



Miss Chandrabai Ponsheo

MISS SEETA DEVADOSS, B. A., BAR-AT-LAW daughter of the Hon. Mr. Justice Devadoss has been enrolled as an Advocate of the Madras High Court. She is the first lady Barrister in the Madras Presidency. Her mother MRS. DEVADOSS is also a prominent social worker of that province.

SHRIMATI RATANKUMARI DEVI, *Karyatirtha*, daughter of the Hon'ble Seth Govind Dass of Jubbulpore, has passed this year, the highest title examination in Sanskrit literature con-



Miss Mithuben Petit

ducted by the Calcutta Sanskrit Association. She is the first Marwari girl to pass this title (*Karyatirtha*) Examination. Her age is only fifteen years.

MISS SARADABAI NAIDU, who just completed her training in the Poona Seva Sadan Society, has proceeded to England for post-graduate studies in Public Health and Nursing at the Bedford College, London. She has been awarded a scholarship of £200 per annum by the League of Red Cross Societies.

MRS. LEONISSA FERNANDEZ has been appointed as a special Magistrate of Udipi (Madras Presidency).

MRS. BALKHISHNA MENON is the first lady in Cochin State to be appointed as an Honorary Magistrate.

CLIFF DWELLERS, NEW MEXICO

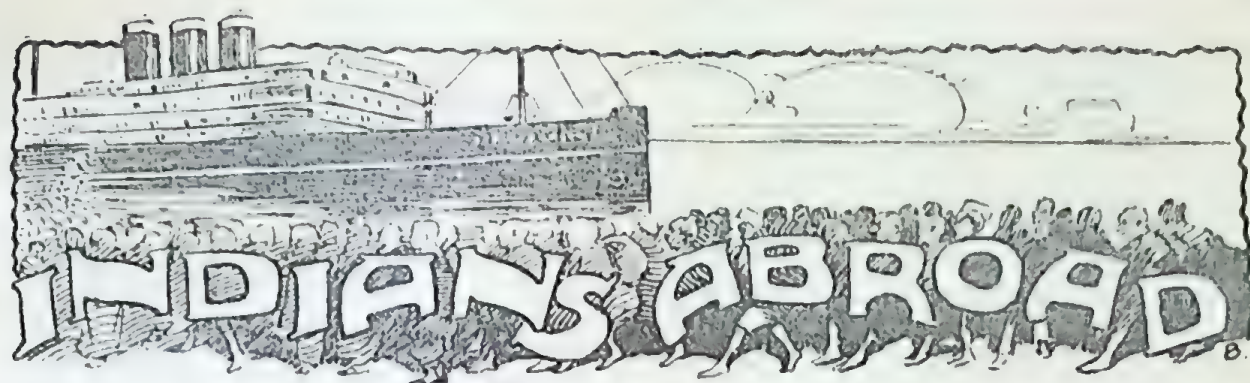
By KATHRYN WHITE RYAN

Climbers of cliffs are an enchanted race.
They trust, they trespass, and they leave no trace.
They give back to the earth each thing they took.
They give all back, manes and shepherd's crook.

Ladders that knew the upstretched reaching hand
And idols are together under sand.

Arrow and bowl and blanket on the loom
Have disappeared from every hollowed room.

Time smooths the cliffs in secrecy of how
Such trust in them earth chose to disavow,
These tiered, sun-healed incisions on a ledge
Give silent proof earth makes no one a pledge.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indian Settlement In Tanganyika

Mr V. R. Boal writes from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika :—

Very few in India know about Tanganyika, one of the East African Territories administered under a mandate by His Britannic Majesty. This is apparently due to Tanganyika Indians being always under the impression that because India is a member of the League of Nations their position is secure and will for ever remain unaltered. But things are now entirely changed. The European propaganda, encouraged and supported by some hidden forces behind it, is being carried on with a view to bringing about the federation and this indicates that there is a fly in the ointment and that it is necessary for Indians to carry on a very strong propaganda for the purpose of safeguarding and strengthening Indian Settlement.

The number of Indian settlers (by settlers I mean producers and not merchants and traders) is very small. Messrs. Karimji Jiwani and Nanji Kalidas are the only two names, Indians can point to with some degree of pride. But what are they when compared with the ever increasing number of Britishers and Germans penetrating into the Territory with a view to exploit it to its fullest extent? We want Indian capitalists to settle in Tanganyika, which has a very brilliant future before it, and the descriptions of which I briefly give below.

The area is about 373, 500 square miles, which includes about 2,000 square miles of water. Along the coast lies a plain, varying in width from ten to forty miles, behind which the country rises gradually to a plateau constituting the greater part of the hinterland. This plateau falls sharply from a general level of 4,000 feet to the level of the lakes (Tanganyika, 2, 500 feet, Nyassa, 1, 607 feet) which mark the great valley extending northwards to lake Naivasha. The highest points in the Territory are in the north-east, where are the extinct volcanoes, Kilimanjaro, which rises to 19,720 feet, and is snow-capped and Mount Meru (14, 960 feet). In the South-West are the Livingstone Mountains, where the highest peak is over 9,000 feet. The climate of the territory varies greatly according to the level of the several districts. Roughly, four climate zones can be distinguished, namely : (i) the warm and rather damp coast region with its

adjoining hinterland (ii) the hot and moderately dry zone between the coast and the central plateau (300 ft.—2000 ft.) (iii) the hot and dry zone of the central plateau between 2000 feet and 4000 feet in height and (iv) the semi-temperate regions around the slopes of Kilimanjaro and Meru, of the Usambara highlands, the Ufipa plateau and the mountainous areas of the South-western area (5,070 ft.—10,000ft). There are two well-defined rainy seasons annually. Generally speaking, the rains begin in February or March and last for two or three months, while a short rainy season extends from October to November but the rainfall is low for a tropical country, and droughts are not infrequent. The seat of Government is Dar-es-Salaam, a modern town founded in 1862 by the then reigning Sultan of Zanzibar and subsequently occupied by the Germans in 1887. The second town in importance is Tanga, 136 miles north of Dar-es-Salaam and 80 miles from Mombasa. According to the census of 1921 the population of the territory was, Europeans 2447, British Indians 9411, Goan and Portuguese Indians 798, Arabs 4041, Baluchis 352 and Natives 4,107,000. Since 1921 there has been considerable increase in the European and Indian population. The principal domestic exports consist in Sisal, Groundnuts, Coffee, Cotton, Copra, Hides and Skins, Grain, Simsim, Beeswax, and Chillies. Diamond, Gold, Tin, Coal and Mica. Mines are being worked progressively and great care is taken by the Government to see that the Mining Industry is fully developed. The territory is at present served by two railways and construction of other railways is under contemplation. The administration is carried on by a Governor assisted by a Legislative council consisting of the Governor and 13 official members and 10 unofficial members nominated by the Governor, of whom two are Indians. Towards the end of this year the proposed Indian Central School with provision for education up to the matriculation will be established in the capital of the territory and the Government propose assisting other Indian schools in the interior by grants-in-aid.

Such is the country to which Indian capitalists are invited to settle. In cities like Bombay Calcutta and Karachi there are numerous wealthy Merchants, Bankers and Millowners. Is it not possible for a few of them to form companies and take advantage of the opportunities offered them as is being done by peoples in England, America

and Germany? Surely, they are not invited to throw their money away: their capital would bring them large returns and besides that, they would be most helpful in perpetuating the existence of the Indian community which is in danger of being rooted out any moment.

We draw the attention of Sir Lallubhai Samaldas Mehta, Shriyut Ambalal Sarabhai, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas and other capitalists to this letter of Mr. Boal and hope that they will give it serious consideration. It is a great opportunity and may never come to us again.

Mr. U. K. Oza in East Africa

Level-headed workers who are of strong convictions, yet ready to see the opponents' point of view, who can be firm yet moderate



Mr. U. K. Oza.

in their writing and speeches and who take a long view of things are as rare in Greater India as in India itself. Our people in East Africa should be congratulated on having such a worker among them and he is none else than Mr. U. K. Oza of Bhavnagar. It was by a mere accident that Mr. Oza went

to East Africa though his heart was always in the cause of our people overseas and as editor of the Voice of India he was ever ready to do what he could for our cause. After a year's useful work in Tanganyika as editor of the Tanganyika Opinion Mr. Oza moved to Nairobi, the capital of Kenya and has been carrying on his activities there for the last one year. Mr. Oza worked as a special organising officer of the East African Indian National Congress for two or three months and was then appointed its General Secretary. The success of the last meeting of the Indian Congress at Nairobi was to a great extent due to the untiring efforts of Mr. Oza. He had also to work hard for the reopening of the question of Common Roll, which has strengthened the Indian case and has become a live issue again. It must be admitted here that Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. R. B. Ewbank, the representatives of the Government of India, performed their duty admirably in this matter as well as in persuading the Indian community to show a united front to the Hilton Young Commission. The complete boycott of the elections on a communal basis by the Indian community in Kenya was a step that produced a great impression on the European community in the Colony. Indeed, we in India thought that such a strong attitude could not possibly be taken on account of the loss of morale by the Indian community after the death of that sturdy fighter, Mr. M. A. Desai, the great Indian leader of East Africa. The credit for this work must go to other Indian leaders as well as to Mr. Oza and if we have singled out the latter in this note it is not because we minimise the work of people like Messrs Phadke and Achariar, Malik and Verma, Pandya and Jeewanjee, but because we feel that Mr. Oza has been doing his work at considerable self-sacrifice resisting the temptation to return home where things are getting more lively and where a journalist of his qualifications can easily get a prominent position in the press. Mr. Oza, I understand, has been busy carrying on conversations with some reasonable Europeans about the Indian question in Kenya. I have no right to give any piece of advice from this end, for our people in East Africa are the best judges of the situation; but I should, as a worker in their cause, request Mr. Oza and his friends not to hurry up things. They should move very cautiously and should take the Indian-

masses in Kenya with them. Any wrong step at this stage will not only ruin the cause of our Indian population in East Africa but will also do an irreparable harm to Greater India of the future.

Honourable Mr. Husein Hasanally Abdool Cader Bar-at-Law, M. L. C

We must heartily congratulate H. E. Sir Hugh Clifford, the Governor of Federated Malaya States for the admirable statesmanship that he has shown in appointing Mr. Abdool Cader Bar-at-Law as the successor of the late lamented Mr. Nambiar of Penang in the council of the Straits Settlement. The whole future of our countrymen in the colonies depends on cordial relations subsisting between the different Indian communities more than on anything else and if Communalism once sets in, it is bound to wreck the whole thing within a decade. The appointment of Mr. Abdool Cader will give a great relief to those who, like ourselves, were much upset on account of that deplorable speech of the Governor which put the Indian population on the wrong track of communalism. We also congratulate Mr. Abdool Cader who, to use the words of the Tamil Nesan, is an Indian first, Indian next and Indian last. Here is a short sketch of our compatriot :—

Mr. Husein Hasanally Abdool Cader, Bar-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn, London) Advocate and Solicitor, S. C. and F. M. S. was born in Surat, Bombay Presidency in 1890 and is the eldest son of Mr. H. A. Cader J. P. a well-known merchant of Penang. After being educated in Surat and afterwards at Raffles School, Singapore and the Free School, Penang Mr. Abdool Cader proceeded to England in May 1905 and joined the County High School, Ilford. He matriculated there in 1908 and later he joined Lincoln's Inn and Christ's College, Cambridge University and took up Law Tripos. He was called to the bar in 1912 and had the honour of being presented to His Majesty King George V on March 11th 1912.

He returned to Penang in April 1912 and was admitted to the Straits Settlements Bar in November of the same year and to the F. M. S. Bar in 1915. Since then he is practising in Penang. He is the President of the United Indian Association, Penang and he is a representative of the Indian community on the Municipal commission, Penang since January 1925. He holds certificate for French from the Royal Society of Arts, London. He has travelled extensively on the continent and in India. He is connected with several recreation clubs as the Christ's College Club, Cambridge, National Indian Association, London etc. His principal recreations are association foot-ball,

tennis and rowing. His office is at George Chambers, 39, Beach Street, Penang, S. S.

Appointed Member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements 23rd July, 1923.

With two such sturdy nationalists as Honourable Mr. Veerasamy in the Federal Council and Honourable Mr. Abdool Cader in the Straits Council our countrymen in Malaya are assured of amiable relations between the Hindus and Mohammedans in that colony. We are fighting against the demon of Communalism at home and we know what mischief it can do if it raises its head in the colonies also.

The Agent of the Government of India in Malaya

An esteemed correspondent writes :—

Rao Shaib Subbaya Naidu, the present agent to the Government of India in British Malaya has been trying hard to bring about the Standard wage



Rao Shaib Subbaya Naidu.

system for the Indian labourers in rubber estates in the F. M. S. In fact, the Indian labourer has worked not a little for the steady advancement and prosperity of Malaya and there can be no

justification for the planters to set aside the claim of the Indian labourer for a minimum wage. This question has been fought very well by the Rao Sahib soon after his coming to the office and as a result of his labours the Standard wage system is to come to force very shortly. Besides this Mr. Naidu has started co-operative societies among the labourers which are working smoothly and to him goes the credit of bringing important changes in the Malayan Labour code.

Mr. Subbaya Naidu is a graduate of the Madras University and has to his credit a long service in the Madras Provincial Government Service. He became the Agent to the Government of India in the F. M. S. after relinquishing his office of Acting Assistant secretary to the Local Self-Government Department of the Madras Secretariat.

We wish Mr. Naidu every success in his admirable efforts for our people in Malaya.

Mr. Sastri in South Africa

The following estimate of the Right Honourable Mr. Srinivas Sastri's work in South Africa by the Natal Mercury will be read with great interest by our countrymen in India :—

So admirably has Mr. Sastri, the Agent of the Government of India in the country, identified himself with the public life of the Union, so completely has he won the respect of all classes of the community, that it is difficult to realise that he arrived here over a year ago and that before very long we shall have to contemplate the end of a term of office already extended by six months. But we sincerely trust that not for some considerable time shall we find ourselves deprived of those services which Mr. Sastri has so signally rendered to this country to his own and to the Empire as a whole.

Mr. Sastri sacrificed a great deal when he accepted the office of Agent-General in South Africa. And it might seem unreasonable to expect him to sacrifice still more. Apart from his duty to his own country and to the Indian in this country, his personal inclinations, to say nothing of his family ties, naturally draw him strongly towards India itself. Nevertheless we feel that the Agent-General could best serve India if by that high sense of duty to which he has always listened he could be prevailed upon to remain beyond the year as the servant in South Africa of his Government. Much of the value of the Indian Agreement depends upon its interpretation and the manner of its interpretation. Mr. Sastri, by his culture and personality and by his really statesmanlike qualities has been ideally suited to the office he has occupied. He has been able to reveal to the vast majority of South Africans a new type of Indian opinion, to show us India and her people in an entirely new light. Moreover, he has gone a long way towards reconciling those differences in the Indian community which have for so long been a barrier to any settlement. There is one paramount consideration which we would strongly urge on Mr. Sastri, however. South Africa to-day stands at the verge of a political change. A General Election looms in the near

future. Fresh personal factors are bound to emerge as a result of the appeal to the electorate. And it is absolutely vital to the success of the Indian Agreement that when the change comes the Indian Government should have in this country an Agent who possesses not merely the intellectual stature of a statesman but also great gifts of culture and personality. We have that man at the moment. It depends entirely on Mr. Sastri whether we have him when the time arrives that he may be most urgently needed.

It is to be noted that the Natal Mercury has the reputation of being unfriendly to the cause of our countrymen in South Africa. This shows what a great effect Mr. Sastri's charming personality has produced even on our opponents. We hope Mr. Sastri will see his way to prolong his stay in South Africa at least for a year.

The work of Indian educationists in South Africa

After spending seven months in South Africa, where they were sent by the Government of India to assist the Natal Government to put Indian education on a sound basis, Mr. K. P. Kichlu and Miss C. Gordon have returned to India. The Indian opinion of South Africa pays the following tribute to their work in connection with the Indian Education Enquiry Committee of Natal :—

While we do not wish to minimise in any way the work of the Indian Government representatives who have come to this country in the past in connection with the Indian question, we would say this, without the slightest hesitation, that the work that has been done by the Indian Educational Experts has been the most practical of all and the good fruits of their labours we are already beginning to experience. It may be said that it is the Education Enquiry Committee that is to be thanked for the benefit we are able to derive. While that is so it should hardly be forgotten that the Committee could never have come to the conclusions it has, had it not been for the convincing evidence laid before it by the Indian community and most of all, had it not been for the very important memorandum prepared by Mr. K. P. Kichlu in which Mr. Kichlu has proved to the hilt the injustices done to the Indian community in regard to their education by the Provincial Administration.

Mr. Kichlu, we believe, is the first representative of the Government of India who will leave the shores of South Africa with the satisfaction of seeing with his own eyes the fruits of his labour. They may be poor at present but let us hope that they will be richer in time to come.

While both Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon are Government officials they have by their simple and amiable ways won the hearts of the Indian people. They were above the ordinary



Mr. Kailas Prasad Kichlu, M. A.,
Vice-Chancellor of the Agra University.

officialdom and mixed freely amongst Indians and entered into their very life.

Mr. Kichlu has not spent a minute in vain. He had come in connection with the educational conditions in Natal but we understand, he has inquired also into the condition prevailing in the Transvaal and has prepared a very important and useful memorandum which, while it may not be published, will be of immense guidance to the education department.

Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon deserve the



Miss C. Gordon, B. Ed.,
Associated with the Female Training College,
Saidapeth (Madras).

gratitude of the Indian public for the splendid work they did in South Africa and we must also congratulate the Indian Government on their excellent choice. It will be good if the Government sends these educationists to East Africa, West Indies, Fiji Islands and Mauritius also to assist the Colonial Governments with their expert advice regarding the education of Indian children abroad.

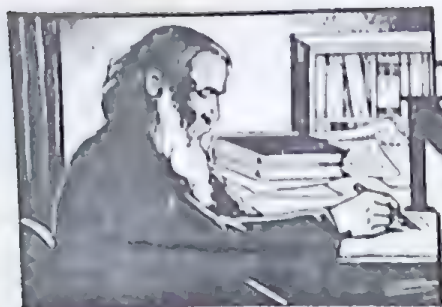
THE CERTAIN CALM

By ETHEL ROMIG FULLER

For harassed minds, for hearts assailed by ills,
For all abrasions of the soul, all scars,
There is a panacea of tall hills,
The healing balm of rediscovered stars;
The scent of dew on sleeping ferns and grass,
The flight of homing winds to waiting trees,
And there are clouds that brush the moon and pass...
Shadows and dark's pulsating subtleties.

Before the constancy of night and sky;
The certain calm; the peace...if any grieves,
He'll shed unhappiness and let it lie
As maples drop their weight of yellow leaves
And so detached from pain and comforted,
May even for a space forget the dead.

—The Christian Century, Chicago



NOTES

Portraits of Raja Ram Mohun Roy

Of the three portraits of Raja Ram Mohun Roy published in this number, the one forming the frontispiece is reproduced from a photograph of the oil painting in the Bristol Art Gallery, by H. P. Briggs, R. A. This is a contemporary portrait. Another, reproduced from a steel engraving forming the frontispiece to the second London edition of his "Precepts of Jesus," published in 1834, may also be considered contemporary. The third one is enlarged from a small photograph of the painting, by Miss Rolinda Sharples, of "The Trial of Colonel Brereton" after the Bristol riots in 1831. The following particulars relating to this picture are taken from a descriptive list of paintings in the Bristol Art Gallery :

The court-martial of Colonel Brereton for his negligence in handling the troops at his disposal during the Bristol riots, 1831, and declining to take vigorous action in the suppression of the rioters, was opened on the 9th January, 1832, in the Merchants' Hall Bristol. . . . The proceedings were abruptly brought to a close, after four sittings, by the suicide of the unhappy defendant. . . . Amongst other local notabilities in the picture may be seen, seated with her back to the spectator, Mrs. Sharples, the mother of the artist, and to the left, with her sketch-book open in her hand, Miss Sharples herself, behind the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy."

In this painting the Raja has a youthful appearance. But at the time of the Brereton trial he was about 60. So, it is probable that the artist merely drew a sketch of the scene on the spot and afterwards painted the different figures from portraits procured by her, and the portrait of Ram Mohun Roy which she could get was perhaps one painted in India years before he left for England.

For the photographs of these portraits and the other pictures illustrating the article on the "Foundation of the Brahmo Samaj" in this issue, we are indebted to Mr. N.

C. Ganguly, the writer of the article. He was able to obtain the permission of Dr. Herbert Bolton, Director of the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, for the reproduction of these portraits through the



Miss Gladys Stevens

good offices of Miss Gladys Stevens of Bristol, a member of the Society of Friends

(Quakers). She is an admirer of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, a convinced pacifist and internationalist and keenly interested in all liberal movements. It was through her efforts that the picture of the Brereton Trial was secured, together with its key and history. She is trying to find out other relics of the Raja in Bristol, London and Liverpool.

In the Memoir prefixed to the second London edition of the *Precepts of Jesus*, published soon after the Raja's death, he is described as "a remarkably stout, well-formed man, nearly six feet in height, with a fine, handsome and expressive countenance." Victor Jacquemont, a young contemporary French scientist who was personally acquainted with the Raja in Calcutta, gives the following pen-picture of the great Indian reformer in his *Voyage dans l'Inde*, Tome I, Paris, 1841, pp. 183-188 :—

Before coming out to India I knew that he was an able orientalist, a subtle logician and an irresistible dialectician ; but I had no idea that he was the best of men...

Ram Mohun Roy is a man of about fifty years of age, tall, stout rather than fat, and of a middle complexion among the Bengalees. The portrait in profile which they have made here, is a close likeness, but the front view is not so good ; his eyes are too small for his large face, and his nose inclines to the right side. He has a very slight moustache : his hair, rather long behind, is thick and curly. There is vigour in his physiognomy, and calmness, dignity and goodness. His dress is of the simplest, differing from that of well-to-do Indians only in the socks and shoes of European pattern which he used instead of wearing slippers on bare feet. He wore no trinkets, not even the sacred thread, unless he had it under his dress...

...He never expresses an opinion without taking precautions on all sides...

...He has grown in a region of ideas and feelings which is higher than the world in which his countrymen live ; he lives alone ; and though, perhaps, the consciousness of the good he is accomplishing affords him a perpetual source of satisfaction, sadness and melancholy mark his grave countenance. (Translation by N.C. Chaudhuri)

Lord Haldane

By the death of Viscount Haldane at the age of 72, Great Britain loses a philosopher, jurist and statesman whose equal she perhaps does not possess. There may be greater statesmen, greater jurists, or greater philosophers, but there does not seem to be any whose combined record in these several spheres of work equals his. He was educated at Edinburgh Academy and University and at Gottingen,

was called to the Chancery bar in 1879, and in 1890 was made a Q. C. He was Liberal member for Haddingtonshire in 1885-1911. Thereafter he was raised to the peerage. With Kemp, in 1883-86, he translated Schopenhauer ; and wrote a life of Adam Smith. His Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews University on the fundamental problems of philosophy and theology were published in 1903 as *The Pathway to Reality*. He insisted on educational reform in *Education and Empire*, published in 1902. As Secretary



Lord Haldane

for War in the Liberal ministry from 1905, he reorganised the army in 1907, creating a small expeditionary force always ready for war, and displacing the old Volunteer by a new and more efficient Territorial force. He was Lord Chancellor under Mr. Asquith from 1912 till 1915, when his former work for a better understanding with Germany viewed in the war temper of the time, combined with the fact that he had received part of his education in Germany, resulted in his exclusion from office in the first Coalition

ministry, and in his retirement for a time from politics. His *Reign of Relativity* appeared in 1921 and his *Philosophy of Humanism* in 1922. As his political sympathies had been given for some time to the ideals of the Labour Party, he became Lord Chancellor in the first Labour Government. He was an ideal host. He was a class-fellow of Professor Dr. P. K. Ray, who is happily still in our midst.

Viscount Haldane on Indian Thought

Lord Haldane tried to cultivate a sympathetic understanding of the ideals and outlook on life of races and peoples other than his own. This was exemplified in his keen and deep interest in Indian philosophy and in Indian students of philosophy. His article on "East and West" in the July number of *The Hibbert Journal*, which is perhaps his last published literary production, illustrates our remark. In the course of this article he observes :—

About what has been done in the West in developing knowledge we are well-informed. But we are not as well-informed about the contributions to reflection that have come from the East. We ought to have diffused among us information that we have not. There are competent students of Indian philosophy, in Europe and America, but they are relatively few in number and the results of their researches have not penetrated widely. In the East itself this is less true. There are to-day at least some Oriental students of philosophy who know Western thought as well as Eastern, in a fashion which would stand high in the West itself. They have published books, but these are known only by very few in Great Britain or America, and hardly by more on the Continent. This cannot be right if the Oriental writers have anything to tell us. The purpose of this article is to answer the question whether they have a lesson to teach us and what it is. We must make a start by getting rid of the current idea that because things have been expressed in words that are not our words, therefore, what they tell us may be passed by.

"To refer first to resemblance in teaching," says he, "it is striking to observe how the doctrine of the highest teachers of Buddhism is akin to that of our Christian teaching. Both religions seek to effect the deliverance of mankind from sin."

But there are divergences which are deep, though they hardly touch the basic principle. One of these divergences is that the Buddhist scheme proclaims the ultimate salvation of all beings. Christianity in its historic forms, on the other hand, divides by a gulf the saved from the unsaved.

The writer then gives in brief some idea of the teachings of Buddhism and of the Upanishads. In connection with the latter he quotes some sentences from Professor Radhakrishnan's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*. Of living Philosophical writers in India Lord Haldane writes :—

The University of Calcutta has produced a series of professors of high gifts who have not only worked out the subject but have written about it in admirable English. Radhakrishnan, Das-Gupta, Haldar, are among them.

Being himself distinguished for intellectual curiosity, it is not surprising that he should write :—

It has been for long in my mind that we in the Western world have been deficient in intellectual curiosity. We have not explored the philosophical systems of India and the East with the same keenness that we have brought to bear on philosophy and science in Europe. There have been exceptions, such as Schopenhauer and in a less degree Hegel. But the work has been mainly left to scholars, great of their kind, but insufficiently trained in philosophical research.

The result has been unfortunate. In India it is thought, by competent Indian students, that we do not appreciate, much less understand, the work that has been done by a long series of Hindu metaphysicians. No doubt it is true that until recently the latter have not really shown familiarity with European philosophy, and have expressed themselves largely in images and metaphors. But it is said against us that underlying the popular creeds of India there is a system of analysis in truth not less comprehensive than that of the idealism of the West. It is, of course, far less precise in its language, and has suffered from insufficient training, on the part of those who wield it, in the theory of logical forms. Still, it is added, there is the analysis and there are the ideas which have resulted. It is said that we over here are the more open to reproach because contemporary Indian writers of philosophy have not only shown in their works that they have mastered the principles of our idealists, but have displayed alongside of them the fruits of speculative development in India.

I do not think that the reproach is one which is wholly without justification or ought to be any longer ignored, and I wish to say something illustrative of it in connection with a book which has recently been written by a distinguished Hindu Professor of Philosophy, Professor Das-Gupta, late of Cambridge University here, and now Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College at Calcutta.

The book is called *Hindu Mysticism* and was published last year by the Open Court Publishing Company. It consists of a series of lectures delivered in the United States, and is popular in style. It is in part a defence of a form of reasoned mysticism, grasping spiritually the aims and problems of life in a more real and ultimate fashion than the author considers possible for mere abstract reason. Its importance is the account it gives in outline of the development of

this and other types of thought in the story of Indian philosophy.

The writer then devotes about one-third of his article to a summary of Prof. Das-Gupta's book on *Hindu Mysticism*, and observes :—

In the passages from his Lectures which I have summarised Professor Das-Gupta gives us an interpretation of the Hindu mind which we do well to remember. For, in its foundations it resembles much in our own views. Religion all over the world and in all ages seems to have more of a universal foundation than we commonly imagine. We may be right in our preference for what has developed in the West. We may think that the infinite is disclosed in it more fully. But many millions of people in India think otherwise, and do not seem likely to cease to think otherwise. The reasons for their attitude I have tried to state in outline in this article.

Lord Haldane then shows that the sympathetic understanding of Indian thought is necessary not merely for satisfying intellectual curiosity; it has a bearing on practical affairs also.

Whatever the truth in the Indian view, there is something that it compels us to recognise. Beliefs with such old and wide foundations influence profoundly where they exist the outlook of the people, not only on religion, but on practical and political affairs. We have, as the Professor says, succeeded admirably in "policing" India. We have done much for her, and have protected the various peoples who make up her population. But have we secured in exchange the faith and confidence of that population? He would be a bold man who would say that we have. Their gratitude for having kept the peace we may have secured, but even this not ungrudgingly. Not the less in that gratitude do they look on us as strangers who do not enter into what they value most. The sound of the flute of Krishna has not reached us. To the inhabitants we are as folk of a different faith.

The "policing" and protection have been done mostly to the extent and in the directions necessary for promoting British interests.

To guard against misapprehension Lord Haldane observes in conclusion :—

Now, no one suggests that we or our representatives should, when we go there, adopt the faith of India. That would be one thing. It is quite another thing, however, that we should not understand it or even have an understanding account of it. The spirit is all-important in our approaches to Hindus and Mohammedans alike. Yet when we send a Commission to India to devise a better form of Government, the last thing we think of is the spirit. We propose to confer with politicians, but not with the leaders of native thought of different schools who inspire the people in various forms. We seem to be determined, in this case as we were when dealing with the Irish, to put the cart in front of the horse.

I doubt very much whether our political efforts can succeed until after a long day's work has been done, and the sympathy and confidence of the spiritual leaders in India has been gained by a further and different effort on our part. We have surely to convince them that we understand their outlook, though it is not ours, and that we have set ourselves to accord to them the fullest liberty and help in working out their own point of view. Some things we have already done, though on a comparatively small scale. We have founded Hindu and Mohammedan Universities. But we are far behind in effort to provide the children of India with primary education, and there remains everything to be done in securing co-operation in social reform. It is tasks like these that we have to enter on, and to get for ourselves in our work the sympathy and help of the leaders of Indian thought seems a condition even more necessary of fulfilment than that of the secondary stage of seeking co-operation from leaders in political subjects.

Here it may be observed that it is more necessary for Indian leaders to secure the co-operation of the British officials in social reform than for the latter to obtain the co-operation of the former.

The purpose of what I have now written is not to take sides in what must inevitably remain for long a matter of controversy. It is to draw attention to the fact that under wholly diverging forms the great religions of the East and of the West have more of a common substratum than we here at least commonly suppose. If this be true it is well that we should realise and rely on it.

For common principles, if discovered, may lead us to see that East is not so wholly dis-severed from West in the foundations of faith as we are apt to assume in our practice. That assumption once got rid of, a new task is opened up, the task of learning to govern India through a mutual understanding and sympathy which may carry us a long way towards the solution of a problem that seems insoluble largely because we have made it so.

When Lord Haldane says, "We have surely to convince them that we understand their outlook, though it is not ours, and that we have set ourselves to accord to them the fullest liberty and help in working out their own point of view," the sentiment has our cordial approval. But when he concludes his article by observing, "That assumption once got rid of, a new task is opened up, the task of learning to govern India through a mutual understanding and sympathy . . .," he says something which is at variance with the idea, supported by him, of according to us the fullest liberty and help in working out our own point of view.

Prof. Sylvain Levi at Santiniketan

Prof. Sylvain Levi visited Santiniketan on the 9th August last and stayed there till the 13th. This was his second visit to Visvabharati. He was very much pleased with the work done in the Research Department of that institution. On the 12th August he spoke there on the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* at Tokyo of which he was the first Director. This new institution is something unique and has for its object a literary rapprochement between France and Japan. There was a friendly relation, Prof. Levi pointed out, between the two countries from the time of the last Shogun. In 1867 a Japanese gentleman named Viscount Shibusawa came to Paris. It was he who started the first bank in Japan and became the greatest Japanese financier. This gentleman was the first to entertain the idea of founding a *Maison Franco-Japonaise*. Up to 1890, said Prof. Levi, French influence in Japan was very strong. Some of the most prominent Japanese statesmen came to France to have an idea of the West. But after this period English and German influence predominated in that country. At the present time America is pressing Japan very hard. The American missionary is regarded as an unwelcome visitor in Japan. After the great war England abruptly dropped Japan to become friendly with the United States. Japan resented this very deeply. Again, Bolshevie Russia is becoming as serious a menace to Japan as Tsarist Russia ever had been. Bolshevism has already affected a certain class of students in the universities. The old politeness and cleanliness are disappearing amongst certain groups of students in Japan. France is par excellence the land of the bourgeoisie and therefore the enemy of Bolshevism. Naturally Japan would like to cultivate friendly relations with France. In 1922 a committee with Viscount Shibusawa at its head proposed to collect money for the scheme of a *Maison Franco-Japonaise*. The earth-quake of 1923, however, stood in the way of getting funds. He approached the Japanese Government. Viscount Kato, the Japanese Premier, was an admirer of France, and he promised 30,000 yen per annum if the French Government gave the same amount. The French Government consented to this proposal. A Japanese multimillionaire, Mr. Murai, who was at first a Christian but who became afterwards a devout Buddhist, promised Prof. Levi a fine house in Tokyo for carrying on

Buddhistic studies. Unfortunately, this gentleman died before the Professor could go to Japan. The idea of the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* is that a French Professor with his family should stay in Japan with a group of students knowing French and carry on studies of Japanese literature and culture, while a Japanese professor with his family with a group of Japanese students should proceed with similar work in France. At present M. Demidville, a lecturer in Indo-Chinese history, a French student who knows Japanese and two commercial students are studying in the *Maison Franco-Japonaise*. They get a monthly allowance of 400 yen (about 600 rupees) and get free lodging. The work which is at present being done in the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* is the preparation of the Buddhist Cyclopaedia, the *Hobugirin*, from Chinese and Japanese sources. Sections A, B, C are now ready and the work will be complete in 3 years more. Japan is taking a national pride in this work. In these days there is a strong revival of Buddhism in Japan. Much money is being spent by Buddhist organisations to combat American missionary work. More interest is being taken in Sanskrit language and literature. The impetus which Jiun (Maitrimegha)—a Japanese movement—gave to Sanskrit studies in the beginning of the 18th century never died out altogether and the study of it is now being taken up again in right earnest. Besides the teaching of Sanskrit in the important Buddhist monasteries there are special chairs of Sanskrit in the Imperial and private universities of Japan. In the Imperial universities of Korea and Formosa chairs of Sanskrit will soon be introduced. Prof. Levi concluded by saying that Indian students, who know French, may also join the *Maison Franco-Japonaise*.

C.

School for Indian Studies in England

A recent issue of the London *Times* made the following announcement:—

A school for the study of Indian history, religions, and present-day problems will be held at the Theological College, Lichfield, from July 21 to 30. The chairman will be Sir Stanley Reed, and the lecturers will include Lord Ronaldshay, Lord Chelmsford, Sir William Vincent, Sir Edward Gait, Sir Verney Lovett, Sir Robert Erskine Holland, and Miss Lena Sorabji.

There are many competent Indians in England who would have been glad to

participate in the conference; but the object of the so-called school for Indian studies is not to present the Indian point of view but to propagate the views of Christian missionaries and ex-Indian British officials who are anxious to keep India under subjection at any cost. Is this another form of subtle anti-Indian propaganda, under the guise of educating the public opinion of England?

T. D.

Bardoli Satyagraha

The *Satyagraha* at Bardoli will bear tangible fruit if, as the result of the enquiry to be conducted by a judicial and a revenue officer, the assessment of land-revenue is revised in such a way as to satisfy the cultivators. But the intangible results are far more important. It is a great thing that men, women and children in humble spheres of life have preferred not to submit to injustice even though their resolve has exposed them to much pecuniary loss and suffering, insults and great risk. They have acted heroically under their brave and wise leader Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. The men and women from outside Bardoli who helped him to carry on the struggle, some of whom were sent to jail, have also made history. Every bloodless fight against wrong is a moral gain to humanity.

Festival of the Rains at Visva-bharati

In our last issue we gave a description of the festival of the rainy season at Visva-bharati. In this issue are printed a sketch of the tree-planting ceremony, drawn by Sriyut Nanda Lal Bose, the artist, and two snapshots of the festival of tilling the soil.

Artists need not be told that the sketch is not realistic.

In one of the photographs the Poet is seen singing a song from one of his books. In the other he is seen putting his hand to the plough and starting the ploughing.

Ram Mohun Roy at Rangpur

Elsewhere in this issue the fact will be found recorded that the Board of Revenue never confirmed Ram Mohun Roy in the post of Dewan of Rangpur, carrying a salary



Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

of only one hundred and fifty sicca rupees, though John Digby, Collector of that district, repeatedly drew attention to his high character, great ability, and knowledge of the



Rabindranath Tagore Singing a Song from One of his Books



The Poet putting his hand to the plough and starting the ploughing

work of collecting revenue, and met all the objections of the Secretary to that board. What could have been the reasons? It is a strange irony of history.

Kemal Pasha and the Afghan Princess

There has been a persistent rumour that Kemal Pasha will marry the sister of King Amanulla Khan of Afghanistan, and news



Tree-planting
Sketch By Syt. Nanda Lal Bose



Mustapha Kemal Pasha

of a contradiction has also been published. If the contradiction be like the general run of official contradictions, the marriage may yet come off. And in that case, people would consider it a diplomatic one.

Chintamani Ghosh

By the death of Babu Chintamani Ghosh at the age of full 74 years Allahabad has lost a citizen of whom she could be justly proud. He never was nor ever sought to be in the lime-light. He was a self-made man in the literal sense of that term. He came to Allahabad when he was not yet 13 and obtained a clerkship in the *Pioneer* office on a salary of ten rupees per mensem at that early age. After serving there for some time he got a job in the Railway Mail Service. Finally he obtained a clerkship in the Meteorological Office at Allahabad carrying a salary of Rs. 60. He retired from Government service comparatively early in life when earning Rs.



The Afghan Princess

100 a month, and started business as printer and publisher. As a man of business, he always kept before himself a high standard of excellence. His press has always stood for high-class printing. He was never afraid of spending considerable sums of money for attaining and keeping up a high standard of typography. The Hindi, Urdu, English and Bengali books printed at his press are noted for their neat get-up. Though Allahabad is not in Bengal, any press in Bengal would be proud to print Bengali books like some of those turned out by the Indian Press. It was never the desire of Babu Chintamani Ghosh to publish catch-pennies. Hence, he always insisted on securing good text books and other books by competent authors for publication. He rendered signal service to the cause of Hindi literature by the publication of a standard illustrated edition of Tulsidas's Ramayan, of a Hindi translation of the Mahabharat, of numerous other Hindi works, and of the high-class Hindi monthly *Saraswati*. Latterly

his press has been entrusted with the work of bringing out the publications of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, including its standard Hindi lexicon. The improvement of Urdu literature also received his attention. Bengalis should be grateful to him for the preparation and publication of the Bengali dictionary by Babu Jnanendra Mohan Das, which is the best of its kind. Journalism also owes a debt of gratitude to him, as he was the publisher of the now defunct *Indian Union* and the *Indian People*. The Indian Press has branches at Benares, Agra, Patna, Calcutta and Nagpur.

The present writer's Bengali monthly *Prabasi* was at first printed at the Indian Press. The work was well done. He records with gratitude that when, after giving up the principalship of the Kayastha Pathshala, he started the *Modern Review*



Chintamani Ghosh

also, Babu Chintamani Ghosh brought out that magazine month after month, excellently printed on good paper and with unvarying punctuality, never asking for payment but

leaving the editor-proprietor to pay when he could, which he began to do only when the journal was many months or perhaps a year old. But for this generous attitude of friendliness on the part of Babu Chintamani Ghosh, this monthly would perhaps never have seen the light of day, or, if at all born, would have died an untimely death. For its editor-proprietor had no savings to finance it.

Babu Chintamani Ghosh died a comparatively rich man possessed of property worth many lakhs. But his wealth was not accumulated by shutting his ears entirely to the cry of suffering humanity. He founded a general charitable infirmary for the benefit of the poor, provision being made for surgical operations in a separate building. He gave liberally to more than one educational institution and helped many poor students. *The Pioneer* states that "he made the cause of Indian widows his own, and spent lavishly in ameliorating their lot."

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Foolish and Perverse Favoritism

In reporting the proceedings of the last meeting of the Calcutta University Senate, *The Bengalee* writes :—

In discussing the proposal to put Dr. Nagendra Nath Gangulee, Professor of Agriculture, a son-in-law of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, a member of the Agricultural Commission—on equal footing with other professors of the University, some of the members of the Senate opposed it on the ground that Dr. Gangulee could show no merit in his particular profession. Others supported the resolution on the ground that it would look awkward if Dr. Gangulee was not brought in line with other professors in respect of pay. Dr. Nilratan Sircar held that Dr. Gangulee fully deserved it. He said that it was due to his (Prof. Gangulee's) initiation that the Agricultural Commission was appointed. The resolution was put to vote and carried by 25 to 17 votes.

Agriculture is not one of the subjects taught in the Calcutta University. It was not taught in 1921, when Mr. Nagendra Nath Gangulee was appointed professor of agriculture; nor is it taught now. When he was appointed, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee held undisputed sway over the university. We will not now discuss why at that time he made this perfectly unnecessary appointment—he might have had reasons of his own, unconnected with the work of the University. But it may be charitable to *imagine* that it was in contemplation at that time to add agriculture

to the subjects taught in the university. But that has not been done or even attempted to be done, though seven years have since past; and hence that piece of imagining can have no foundation in fact. The result is that a man has drawn thousands of rupees from the university funds in the shape of salary, etc., for doing absolutely no work for the university. This is nothing short of criminal waste of public money. Those who support such waste deserve the severest condemnation.

It is highly to be regretted that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's name should have been mentioned in this connection. He had, of course, nothing to do with the appointment when it was originally made, nor, it goes without saying, had he anything to do with the proposal carried at the last meeting of the Senate. That his name should be dragged in and exploited by anybody for a selfish purpose is a tragedy.

That a man is a son-in-law of any particular person is no qualification for a professorship. Even if Dr. Gangulee *had* shown "merit in his particular profession," that would not have entitled him to be the paid professor of a subject not taught in the university. It is also quite idiotic to suggest that a man deserves higher salary for being professor of such a subject because he was a member of the Agricultural Commission. The appointment itself, when made, was indefensible from any and every point of view. The supporters of the proposal under discussion should have first proved to the public why Dr. Gangulee's services were and are required;—they should have satisfied the public that for the money he has already received he has done sufficient or *any* university work. The question of an increment could have then been brought forward and discussed. But the facts are that, agriculture not being a subject taught in the university, the university never stood in need of his services, that he has done no work for the university, that, therefore, his post should never have been created and should be abolished, and that, *a fortiori*, the question of increasing his emoluments could never have arisen. It has been argued "that Dr. Gangulee fully deserved it." We should like to know in detail how he has deserved it, *in terms of university work done*. Assuming that the Agricultural Commission was appointed at the suggestion of Dr. Gangulee, it has still to be proved by the logic of facts that that commission was a desideratum and

is or will be a blessing to India. But supposing it is or will be a blessing, and that, therefore, Dr. Gangulee deserves some *bakhshish* for his suggestion, why should the gratuity have come, both retrospectively and prospectively, from the funds of the university, which, it is said, is unable to meet some absolutely necessary items of expenditure?

The proposal was to put Dr. Gangulee on an equal footing with other professors; and it was argued that it would look awkward if he was not brought in line with other professors in respect of *pay* (not of *work*!). But the supporters of the proposal were blind to the fact that his university *work* could not be placed on an equal footing with that of the other (active) professors, because he had no such work; and that it was amazingly unjust, absurd and awkward that a perfect sinecurist should have drawn and should draw a salary, etc., far greater than those of many a competent and devoted professor actually doing educational work in connection with the University. "No work, no pay. Equal work, equal pay", should be the motto of all who are impartial and not devoid of intelligence.

It has been our lot to criticise the Calcutta University for many of its doings, but perhaps the one commented upon in this note is one of the most absurd, idiotic and perverse that have come under our notice. It is to be hoped that it is not a sample of the things to be expected during the Vice-chancellorship of the Rev. Dr. Uqubart.

German Industrialists Secure South African Railway Contracts

The Johannesburg correspondent of the *Times* (London) gives the following interesting news-item:—

Johannesburg, July 17.

The South African Railway Board has given a contract for seven narrow-gauge locomotives of the Garret type to the Hanomag group of Hanover, at £4,427 each, f. o. b. Hamburg, delivery within 22 weeks.

The German tender was not the lowest, but the British quotation was £5,613. It is pointed out that, however well-disposed the Railway Board might be towards British manufacturers, it cannot afford to ignore the question of prices, and to have given the present contract to the lowest British tenderer would have involved an Imperial preference of 27 per cent. It is suggested in business circles here that there must be something wrong with British methods of tendering, or that the British tenderers were not very anxious to secure this contract.

From this, it is clear that the South African Government is not in favor of "Imperial Preference" which may cost the South African people considerable amounts for the benefit of the British manufacturers, who cannot compete with Germans and others. The British authorities regard India to be the "dumping ground" for British manufactures and they in the past followed a policy of destruction of Indian industries to promote the British economic control of India. The South African attitude of independence may serve as a lesson for Indian statesmen opposing "Imperial Preference."

T. D.

Co-operation Between The Anglo-Indian Association and the European Association of India

At a recent meeting of the Anglo-Indian Association held at London, over which Mr A.B. Kunning presided, Lord Meston and Lord Winterton supported the claim of special privileges for the Anglo-Indians:

LORD MESTON said the Anglo-Indian community had now reached the position which had lately been attained by minorities in many powerful and ancient nations all over the world. Those minorities were recognized and definitely protected under the aegis of the League of Nations. Following that analogy, the Anglo-Indians were as much entitled to claim minority rights as the Croats in Yugoslavia or the old Germans in Czechoslovakia. Their point of view should not be that of mere defence against stronger forces but that of a minority which by virtue of being so had its rights and privileges.

MR. C. B. CHARTRES, president of the European Association, India, said his association made it one of the first articles of its policy to try to work in co-operation with the Anglo-Indian Association. Both had been considering the views to be put before the Simon Commission. There had been joint meetings of their councils, and in the memorandum the European Association was submitting to the Commission next week it was supporting many of the views and claims which the Anglo-Indians had put forward.

Anglo-Indians want to enjoy the advantages, if any, of being considered Indians by claiming to be statutory Indians, and they want the privileges of their partial non-Indian descent, too!

If the membership of the European Association of India includes persons from all the European countries residing in India, then the above news-item of co-operation between the European Association and Anglo-Indian Association has international significance.

The Anglo-Indians are interested in

securing the co-operation not only of Britishers at home and abroad to preserve control over Indian affairs, but they have in addition taken steps to cultivate the support of European nations through their European members and propaganda methods.

It is needless to emphasise the point that at the present juncture all Indian political groups should unite to maintain Indian rights in India. Indian political bodies should formulate a programme of joint action so that the alien rulers of India may be dispossessed of their special privileges and Indians may recover control of India. They should also take steps to cultivate international co-operation (especially Asian co-operation) in their efforts to recover their national freedom.

T. D.

British "White Australia" Policy

Lately the "White Australia Policy" has taken a new shade of particularism. A few weeks ago the ex-Premier of Australia, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Hughes, openly declared that "the Italians are undesirable aliens and there should be certain restrictions against their coming to Australia". This remark evoked rage in certain Italian quarters; and they reminded the Australian statesmen of the ancient civilization of Rome and the re-awakening of Italy, which will not submit to any national insult from any quarter.

Now Mr. Bruce, the Federal Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, has come out with his programme of keeping Australia 98 per cent. British. The London *Times* reports :—

Mr. Bruce, the Federal Prime Minister, speaking at Heidelberg, said that the Commonwealth Government had determined to maintain in Australia 98 per cent, of British stock.

Australia's obligation to observe a "White Australia" policy, he continued, had not been received enthusiastically by other nations. It was not desirable that Australia should "antagonize" the white nations as it possibly antagonized the coloured races on this issue. It would not be wise, therefore, to exercise a power which the Commonwealth undoubtedly possessed to exclude foreigners from the Commonwealth. The question had to be approached with a little more tact.

The arrangement with Italy and other Southern European countries, by which a limited number of their nationals would enter Australia yearly, had been made with the utmost cordiality and goodwill and without any suggestion of quota systems. In this way Australia would maintain the British character of her population rather than by throwing out a defiance to the whole world.

"The fact" of Mr. Bruce imposes indirect restriction against all so-called white men and women unless they are "British." This is a peculiar caste-system or class discrimination, based not only upon colour-prejudice but also racial vanity.

History teaches us that racial or religious solidarity becomes short-lived among peoples of two nations, if their economic and political interests come into conflict. During the World War the British whites were willing to starve the German women and children by blockade and sought the co-operation of Moslem Egyptians, Arabs, Hindus, Siamese, Chinese and Japanese; whereas the Germans, Austrians and Bulgarians sought Turkish support. The Catholics of Belgium, France and Italy fought the German and Austrian Catholics.

The population problem—the problem of human migration—is as old as the history of the human race. In the past, pressure of population swept away many artificial racial barriers raised by privileged communities which wanted to fence the most fertile portions of the world as their exclusive property. As the discriminated people of the so-called coloured races form more than the half of the human race and they are audibly thinking about "racial equality" and "equal opportunity for migration to all parts of the world," it may come to pass that their demands will receive some consideration, in spite of all the arrogance of the so-called British "white men" who think themselves a little bit superior to all other "white people."

T. D.

All Parties Conference Report

The Report of the Committee appointed by the conference to determine the principles of the constitution for India is an able and very sober production. The time at the disposal of the Committee was not quite sufficient for drafting such a report. The result of their deliberations is, therefore, all the more praiseworthy. The three appendices, for two of which they acknowledge their indebtedness to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, add to the value of the report. It is well got-up and furnished with two maps, reproduced elsewhere, to show the comparative numerical strength of the Hindn and Muslim communities in the Panjab and Bengal.

Those who are out and out advocates of

India's political rights in the abstract will not be satisfied with the report. For it is drawn up on the assumption that Dominion status will at present satisfy the majority of politically-minded Indians, whereas there are very many who cannot reconcile themselves to anything short of freedom and absolute independence. *The Modern Review* stands for freedom and absolute independence. But as the Conference was an all parties conference, as one and all of the parties do not want independence at present, and as none of the principal political parties, to the best of our information, want anything less than Dominion status, we think the Committee have been well advised in their assumption that the constitution should be framed on that basis. Absolute independence and freedom can be won by a successful armed rising or by some other movement which would put equivalent pressure on the British Government and people. To be free, Ireland brought both violent and non-violent pressure to bear on Great Britain. But she did not succeed in winning absolute independence and freedom—though she may do so yet. India is not yet in a position to put greater pressure of either description on Great Britain. Hence, though one may have the most ardent longing for freedom and independence for India, one may, for the present, agree to put forward a claim for something less, without prejudice to a higher demand. History shows that even the most despotic and absolute autocracy has not stood in the way of nations winning full freedom. Therefore, Dominion status cannot be a bar to the attainment of full freedom—rather, on the contrary, it may facilitate the carrying on of an absolute independence movement. There is no finality in politics. Moreover, "Dominion status has come to mean something indistinguishable from independence, except for the link with the Crown."

It has been argued that Great Britain would be as unwilling to agree to a Dominion status for India as to absolute independence. We do not think so, though opinions may differ.

Dominion Status and Responsible Government

The Committee are right in stating that "the attainment of dominion status is not viewed as a remote stage of our evolution but as the next immediate step." They

have given a convincing reply to certain false issues and fanciful theories raised in official circles with a view to defeat or delay the establishment of any form of responsible government in India. They have succeeded in tearing to shreds Sir Malcolm Hailey's thesis that full dominion self-government is of somewhat wider extent than responsible government and that responsible government is not necessarily incompatible with a legislature with limited or restricted powers. "There is no half-way house between the present hybrid system and genuine responsible government...The real problem, to our mind, consists in the transference of political power and responsibility from the people of England to the people of India."

The Settlement of the Problem of Minorities

The kind of settlement of the problem of minorities recommended in the Report does not conform to any principles of abstract justice. If any safeguards are to be provided in the interests of minorities, they should be available to all minorities; and the weaker and less numerous a minority, the greater the safeguards it requires. But the Committee have recommended safeguards for the strongest minority community in India. In this they have followed the rule of expediency. The Muslims have been the most clamorous and insistent in their demand for separate treatment, and hence their demand has received attention. It is also true, as the Report states, "that there is no such sharp cleavage between them (the non-Muslim minorities) and the majorities among whom they live as there unfortunately is between Hindus and Muslims."

"We would, however, point out that the problem of minorities is not peculiar to India. The existence of that problem in other countries has had to be faced in the framing of their constitutions after the war, but has never been treated as an argument or reason for withholding from them self-government in the fullest measure. We would earnestly recommend to the conference that if, in addition to, or in substitution for, our recommendations, the settlement of the problem of minorities is possible by agreement on any other basis, such basis should be accepted in the larger and more abiding interests of the country."

The all important Question Now

The all important question now is how we can obtain the same power and responsi-

bility in the affairs of our country as other peoples have in theirs. The respective shares of different communities in that power and responsibility is a minor and a domestic problem. If by agreeing to a temporary compromise, *for ten years*, the main object can be gained, one may be expected to be reasonable enough to accept such a compromise. But, of course, it is allowable to doubt whether the acceptance of the compromise by all parties in India would lead to the admission by England of our demands as just. We have also seen the doubt expressed somewhere that once the Muslims obtain a privilege, they will never agree to give it up. But if they accept it on the understanding that it is only for ten years, it will have to be given up automatically at the end of that period. If they want it permanently or for an indefinite period, there would be no compromise, and the settlement would fall through.

"The Communal Aspect"

Hindus form 65.9 per cent. and Muslims 24.1 per cent. of the total population of India and Burma. But, says the Report,

In the Punjab, the Muslims are 55.3 per cent. and in Bengal 51.0 per cent. In Sind they are 73.4 per cent. and in Baluchistan and the N.-W. F. province they are overwhelmingly strong.

A new comer to India, looking at these figures and at the strength of the Muslim community, would probably imagine that it was strong enough to look after itself and required no special protection or spoon feeding. If communal protection was necessary for any group in India it was not for the two major communities—the Hindus and the Muslims. It might have been necessary for the small communities which together form 10 per cent. of the total.

But,

Logic or sense have little to do with communal feeling, and to-day the whole problem resolves itself in the removal from the minds of each of a baseless fear of the other and of giving a feeling of security to all communities. In looking for this security each party wants to make for itself or to retain, a dominating position. We note with regret that the spirit animating some of the communal spokesmen, is not one of live and let live. The only methods of giving a feeling of security are safeguards and guarantees and the grant, as far as possible, of cultural autonomy. The clumsy and objectionable methods of separate electorates and reservation of seats do not give this security. They only keep up an armed truce.

The Committee's solution of the communal problem consists in giving the fullest religious liberty and making provision for

cultural autonomy, "although people may not realise it." In the absence of details we do not quite understand the latter part of this solution.

It is stated in the Report that the status of the N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan must be made the same as that of other provinces. It is added: "We cannot in justice or in logic deny the right of any part of India to participate in responsible government." We agree. But does it follow that "any part of India" has the right "to participate in responsible government" *as a separate provincial unit*? Baluchistan has a population of 4,20,618, N.-W. F. P. 22,51,340, and Sind 32,79,377. All these, according to the Committee, have the right "to participate in responsible government" *as separate provincial units*. Why then should Ajmer-Marwara with a population of 4,95,271 be denied that right? And Berar with a population of 30,75,316? And each of the overwhelmingly Muslim Bengal districts of Bogra, Rajshahi, Pabna, Noakhali, Mymensingh and Tippera, with populations of 10,48,606, 14,49,675, 13,89,494, 14,72,786, 4,87,373 and 2,74,3073 respectively? There seems to be more of expediency in the Committee's decision than of logic and reason.

As regards Sind the Committee observe that, for the last eight years, since the National Congress made Sind into a separate province, no voice was raised in protest. But that was done for the purposes of Congress elections, etc., not for any administrative, legislative, executive, judicial or revenue purposes. So why should any voice of protest be raised?

It is satisfactory to find the Committee saying: "We agree that the Muslim demand for the separation of Sind was not put forward in the happiest way."

They observe:

To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no "communal" provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international view point that there should be no separate nations.

Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation.

It would be beside our purpose to examine the above statements here too critically. Assuming their general truth, may we ask,

is it the absence of Sind's separate provincial existence which has stood in the way of the Sind Moslems' "fullest cultural autonomy"? How is it, then, that though the Muslims do not live in a separate "communal" province of their own in the U. P., where they are only 15 per cent. of the population, they have been able to establish the fullest cultural autonomy in Aligarh? If in spite of the lesson conveyed by the example of Aligarh, it be argued that the Sind Muslims cannot have the fullest cultural autonomy unless Sind be made a separate province, would that mean that the largest portion of the educational expenditure of Sind must then be devoted to the promotion of Islamic culture? In that case, would there be sufficient money left for the fullest cultural autonomy for the Sind Hindus, who would naturally and rightly want Hindu cultural equipment on the Islamic scale? Or, are only the majority community in each province to have the fullest cultural autonomy?

We are afraid most of the arguments brought forward in favour of the constitution of Sind, N.-W. F. P., and Baluchistan as separate provinces are mere after-thoughts, and the real reason for supporting this Muslim demand is to be found in the reluctance or inability to negative the "novel suggestion" referred to as follows: "The Muslims being in a minority in India as a whole fear that the majority may harass them, and to meet this difficulty they have made a novel suggestion—that they should at least dominate in some parts of India."

Disadvantages of Separate Electorates

The following observations of the Committee should be seriously considered by all advocates of separate electorates:

It is admitted by most people now that separate electorates are thoroughly bad and must be done away with. We find, however, that there has been a tendency amongst the Muslims to consider them as a "valued privilege", although a considerable section are prepared to give them up in consideration for some other things. Everybody knows that separate electorates are bad for the growth of a national spirit, but everybody perhaps does not realise equally well that separate electorates are still worse for a minority community. They make the majority wholly independent of the minority and its votes and usually hostile to it. Under separate electorates, therefore, the chances are that the minority will always have to face a hostile majority, which can always by sheer force of numbers, override the wishes of

the minority. This effect of having separate electorates has already become obvious, although the presence of the third party confuses the issues. Separate electorates thus benefit the majority community. Extreme communalists flourish thereunder and the minority community, far from suffering, actually benefits by them. Separate electorates must, therefore, be discarded completely as a condition precedent to any rational system of representation. We can only have joint or mixed electorates.

"A Sprawling Province"

The Committee state on page 34 of the Report that among the various proposals about reservation of seats in legislative bodies for majority and minority communities one was, "Amalgamation of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Province, with no reservation of seats." They have no objection to this proposal. But as they do not know how far this will meet the different view-points of the parties concerned, they have not made any recommendation in regard to it. Then they go on to state:—

"A similar but more far-reaching proposal was made to us, namely, that the Punjab, the N.-W. F. Province, Baluchistan and Sind should all be amalgamated together, and that there should be no reservation of seats, unless the minority desires it, in this area. We were unable to entertain this proposal. It would mean the creation of an unwieldy province sprawling all over the north and north-west.

The description of "sprawling" applies more or less to the Bombay Presidency and Bihar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa also. It is not a serious objection. Unwieldiness is an objection. A province may be unwieldy as regards area or population or both. Let us see in what respects the proposed amalgamated area may be considered unwieldy. The Punjab has an area of 99,846 square miles; N.-W. F. Province, 13,419; British Baluchistan, 54,228; and Sind, 46,506; total area, 213,699. The biggest Provinces, in the Indian Empire are Burma (area 233,707 square miles) and Madras (area 142,260 sq. m.) So the amalgamated province would not have been the most unwieldy in area. As regards population, the total population of the combined areas is, according to the census of 1921, 26,636,389, which is greatly exceeded by Bengal, U. P., Madras, and Bihar and Orissa. So the combined areas would not have been more unwieldy in population than these. It would not have been nearly as heterogeneous, too, in population as some existing provinces; *e. g.*, Burma with its Burmans, Shans, Karens, Kachins, Chins,

Arakanese, Talaiings and Palaungs, besides Indians, Chinese, etc.: Assam with its Mairakhs, Mikirs, Garos, Naga tribes, Kacharis, Lushei Kuki clans, Khasis, Angami Nagas, Sema Nagas, Lhota Nagas, Lalungs, Rabhas, Syntengs, etc., besides the Assamese and Bengalis.

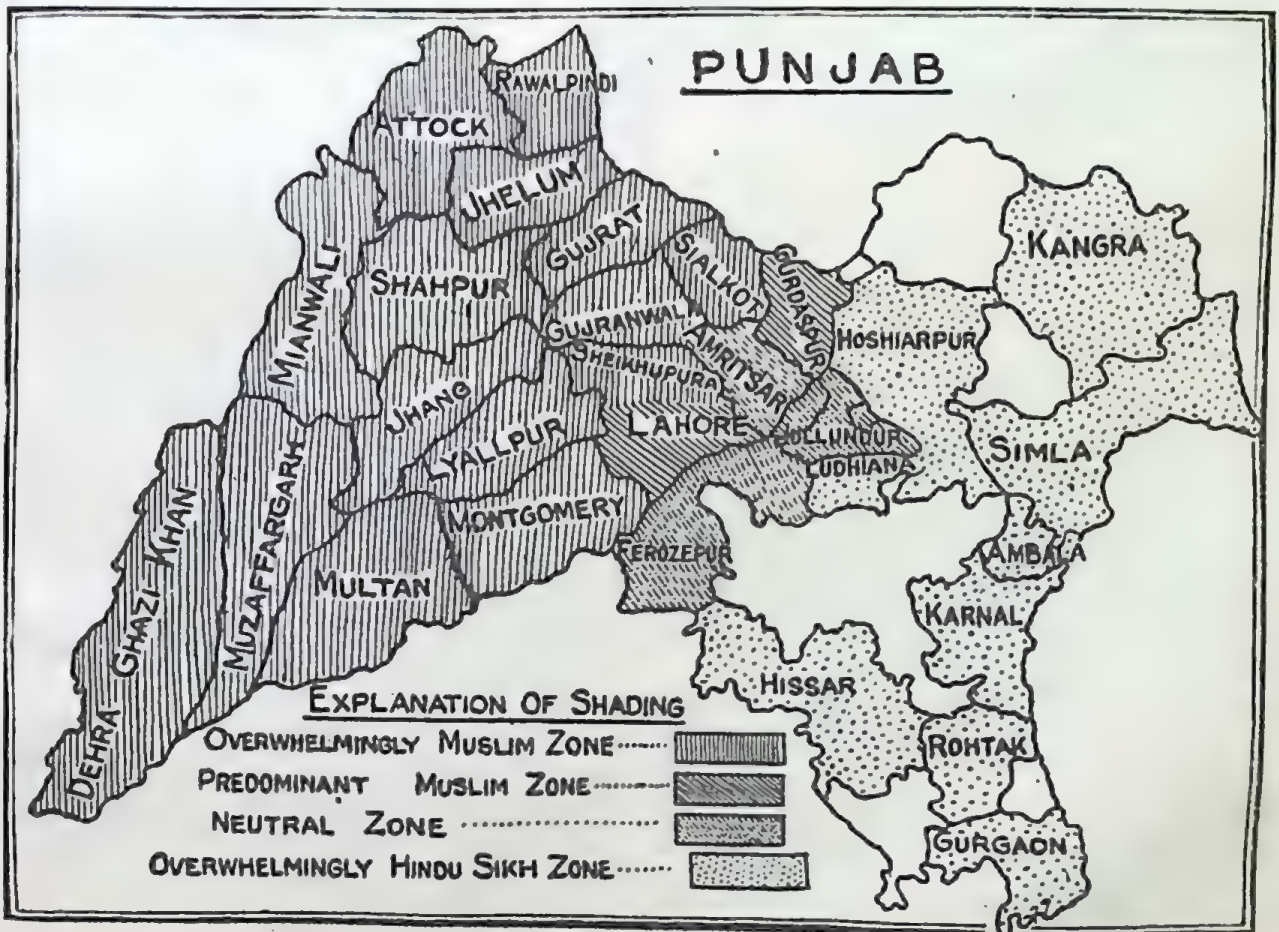
Still we would not urge the creation of this "sprawling" province. But as neither Sind, nor N.-W. F. Province, nor Baluchistan possesses a population or revenues sufficiently large for meeting the expenses and other requirements of a separate provincial existence, we would suggest the amalgamation of these three and their formation into one province. The combined area would then be 114,153 square miles, with a population of 5,951,365. This area is exceeded by three of the existing "Governor's Provinces" and nearly equalled by one, while this population is exceeded by those of all the "Governor's Provinces." So this province would not be considered unwieldy.

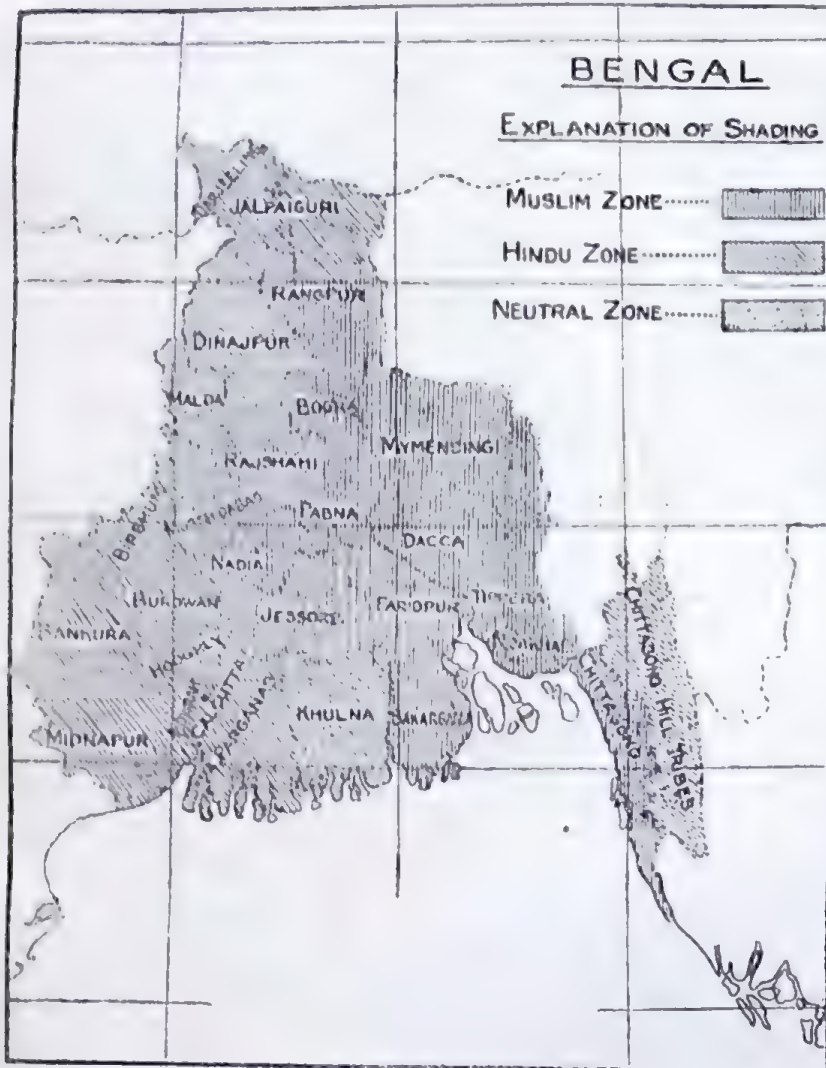
Our suggestion may be considered for what it is worth. We are opposed to making any area a separate "Governor's Province" which cannot be financially self-supporting. None of the existing provinces can afford to contribute to the maintenance of any financially parasitic province. Some of them have to remain disease-stricken, illiterate, poverty-stricken and economically undeveloped for want of funds.

Reservation of Seats for the Majority

The argument against reservation of seats for the majority is thus ably put in part:—

It is absurd to insist on reservation of seats for the majority and claim full responsible government at the same time. Responsible government is understood to mean a government in which the executive is responsible to the legislature and the legislature to the electorate. If the members of the executive with the majority behind them have all got in by reservation and not by the free





the provinces, humanly speaking, Muslims would be assured of a clear majority in the legislature. This, of course, presupposes adult suffrage for both sexes, which the Committee have recommended. For details see the Report.

In Bengal, "the Hindu minority, although it is a very big minority, is highly likely to suffer in numbers in an open general election without reservation." This is no imaginary fear, as the Bengal district board elections show. Though the voting strength of the Muslims there is now less than it be with adult suffrage,

Yet we find that they made a clean sweep of the Hindu minority in three districts—Mymensingh, Chittagong and Jessore. In the first two of these not a single Hindu was elected, though the Hindus are about 24 per cent of the population, and in the third only one Hindu managed to get in, though the community forms 38.2 per cent of the population. As against this we find that Muslims, where they are in insignificant minorities of 3 and 4 per cent., have managed to send one to three representatives to the District Board.

Nevertheless we would not advocate the reservation of seats for the Hindu minorities.

For separate electorates and reservation of seats are evils and ought not to be tolerated by those who oppose them, because others insist upon having them. All communities should rely solely on the growth of a humanitarian and national outlook and of altruism, public spirit and ability. Other considerations, reproduced below from the Report, should also help to dispel fear.

choice of the electorate, there is neither representation of the electorate nor any foundation for responsible government. Reservation of seats for a majority community gives to that community the statutory right to govern the country independently of the wishes of the electorate and is foreign to all conceptions of popular government. It will confine minorities within a ring-fence and leave them no scope for expansion.

The strongest argument against such reservation is furnished by the facts as they are. The figures compiled by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and given in appendices A and B of the Report show conclusively that in the Punjab and Bengal there are an overwhelmingly Muslim zone, a predominantly Hindu zone, and an overwhelmingly Hindu zone, the result being that in both

We are certain that as soon as India is free and can face her problems unhampered by alien authority and intervention, the minds of her people will turn to the vital problems of the day. How many questions that are likely to be considered by our future legislatures can be of a communal nature? There may possibly be a few now and then but there can be no doubt that the vast majority of the questions before us will not be communal in the narrow sense. The result will be that

parties will be formed in the country and in the legislature on entirely other grounds, chiefly economic we presume. We shall then find Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs in one party acting together and opposing another party which also consists of Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs. This is bound to happen, if we once get going.

Reservation of Seats for Minorities

The Committee have, for reasons stated in the Report, recommended, as a necessary evil, the reservation, for ten years, of seats for Muslim minorities, both in the Central and Provincial legislatures in strict proportion to their population, with the right to contest additional seats. The last-mentioned right is "calculated to advance the Muslim on national lines" and to enable non-Muslims to influence them by fraternization. Non-Muslim minorities are allowed reservation of seats on similar terms only in the N.-W. F. P. and Baluchistan. Is it or is it not understood that if Sind be made a separate province, non-Muslims there, too, will have this "right"?

On the whole we consider these recommendations of the Committee politic.

Redistribution of Provinces

It is stated in the Report "that the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis." This is not quite true. Nor is it quite true to say that "it is merely due to accident." In most parts the distribution is due to geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons.

It is not a correct statement of facts that Hindustani is to-day the common language of half of India, though we do not object to efforts being made to make it the *lingua franca* of India. Of course, the use of English will not and cannot be prevented; rather would it be necessary to encourage it.

The Committee favour redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis, provided the people concerned so desire. "A third consideration, though not of the same importance, is administrative convenience, which would include the geographical position, the economic resources and the financial stability of the area concerned."

We have not been able to appreciate the difficulties in the way of the Committee favouring the unification of Utkal nearly to the extent that they favour the unification of the Karnataka. The Oriyas have been agitating for it for at least a quarter of a century,

there is a considerable amount of literature on the subject. Government deputed some officers to enquire into the matter, and the Committee also "have received a small book giving the case for Utkal." Yet they say, "we regret we have been unable to consider it in the absence of any special memorandum or representation!" Did the Utkal people forfeit the favour of the Committee simply because their *small* book did not take the form of a memorandum or representation? If so, it is sad that our own leaders were prevented from doing their duty because of such a characteristically bureaucratic technical objection,

Regarding the demand for the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Assam, and in Bihar and Orissa, the Committee only say that their colleague, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, is of opinion that it is reasonable and legitimate. The Committee, minus Mr. Bose, neither have nor express any opinion, though as regards Sylhet at least there have been resolutions and debates in councils and Government statements. It would be idle to speculate what would have been the result if the Bengali-speaking Muslims had made the demand.

About Sind we have already written much.

On the whole, everywhere we should be opposed to the creation of linguistic provinces which cannot be financially self-supporting. Other wise, we would not raise objections any where.

The Indian States and Foreign Policy

The official and anti-Swaraj case for the Indian States has been stated and is being prepared in such a way as to prevent India from ever being united and free. This case, so far as it is available, has been thoroughly exposed and been made mince-meat of in the Report. Only one small extract from the letter of Sir Leslie Scott, the learned counsel engaged by the princes, published in the *Law Quarterly Review*, will suffice to show the Machiavellian ingenuity with which the anti-Swaraj case is being prepared :

"The British Government as paramount power has undertaken the defence of all the States, and therefore to remain in India with whatever military and naval forces may be requisite to enable it to discharge that obligation. It cannot hand over these forces to any other Government

to a foreign power such as France or Japan ; to a dominion Government such as Canada or Australia ; nor even to British India" (*italics ours*).

We support the recommendations of the Committee relating to the Indian states.

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Federal and Unitary Types of Government

So far as we can see from a cursory perusal of the Report, the Committee have not discussed the advantages and disadvantages of federal and unitary types of government, nor the question of having two houses in the provincial legislatures. These topics will not, therefore, be further referred to here.

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The Recommendations

As the Committee were entrusted with the work of indicating the principles of the constitution, many details, to be expected in a fully drawn up bill, cannot obviously be found in the Report. So, generally, we shall not try to say what is wanting. We shall offer only a few suggestions and comments on some of the Recommendations, most of which merit cordial support.

Among the fundamental rights, (xiii) is stated as follows :

"No person shall, by reason of his religion, caste or creed, be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling".

After the word "creed" we would add, "or the province or place of his or his ancestor's birth," or words to the same effect.

We are not satisfied that the election of members of the Senate by the Provincial Councils is quite the best method, as it leads to loss of touch with the people, and responsibility becomes rather indirect and remote. In the United States of America the senator's re chosen by direct popular vote.

As in the case of the Senate so in that of the House of Representatives it should be stated explicitly that the allotment of seats to the provinces will be on the uniform basis of population, as indicated on page 91 of the Report.

Clause 21, pp. 107-8, should be so distinctly worded as to convey the sense that our Parliament is to have the same final power of making laws as the U. S. Congress possesses ; in the wording as it stands it is not

clear what will happen if the Governor-General does not signify the King's assent when a bill is "again presented to the Governor-General for the signification in the King's name of the King's assent." In the U.S.A, the practice is : "Every bill which passes Congress must have the president's signature to become law, unless after he has returned it with his objections, two-thirds of each house support it and pass it over his veto." We ought to have some such rule. The King's veto may be a dead letter as regards his white subjects in Great Britain and the white men's dominions, but we should not expect it to be so here.

Recommendation 38 lays down : "If the Governor withholds his assent from any such bill the bill shall not become an Act." This makes the Governor the final authority in legislation, which is entirely undesirable. There ought to be a provision, like the American one, for the passing of a law over the veto of the Governor.

Recommendation 23 (b) states : "The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General and the ministers shall also be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister." It is not stated whether these officers must be chosen from the elected members of Parliament and whether after their appointment they would continue to have a seat in Parliament. In the case of the Provincial Executive also, similar information is not given. Such things ought to be explicitly stated. In the absence of such information, further comment is not possible. In the U.S.A., "the President chooses a cabinet of ten members, each having charge of an administrative department, but none of them having a seat in Congress."

It is not clear from the Recommendations how the central and provincial legislatures are to make the central and provincial executive respectively responsible to them. In fact, in the case of the Provincial Executive it is not even stated that it shall be responsible to the legislature.

According to Recommendation 81, the Indian Parliament may make laws for regulating the sources and methods of recruitment of the civil services in India. It is nowhere stated in the Report, this why Parliament is not to make laws similarly for regulating the sources and methods of recruitment of the army, navy and air services, nor, if Parliament is not to do it, who else is to do it.

If such laws are required for the civil services, it stands to reason that similar laws would be required for the military, naval and air services also.

Division of Subjects into Central and Provincial

In Schedule I of the Report the control of mines is mentioned as one of the central subjects, whereas in Schedule II the development of mineral resources is mentioned as a provincial subject. Hence the control to be exercised over mines by the central government will have to be clearly defined in such a way as not to hamper the development of mineral resources by the provincial governments.

Electoral Constituencies

Recommendation 9 lays down that members of the House of Representatives shall be elected by constituencies determined by law. In the introductory address to his Swaraj Constitution Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem says :—

I am one of those who believe that these (electoral) constituencies should have no reference whatever to the boundaries of administrative provinces; but on the other hand the whole country should be divided entirely on a population basis without any regard to geographical or administrative conditions. This is one sure way of getting rid of parochial patriotism and particularism among members of Parliament, where, more than anywhere, broad harmony and outlook should prevail without factions and with only parties advocating broad and profound policies for the government and advancement of the country.

The idea seems to us very attractive, and the object still more so. It should be seriously considered whether the plan is feasible.

Centenary of the Brahmo Samaj

A century ago on the sixth day of *Bhadra*, corresponding this year to the 22nd August, Ram Mohun Roy and a few friends and followers of his met for the first time in a hired house in Upper Chitpur Road to worship the Supreme Spirit in an unsectarian manner. In that unpretentious manner were the seeds of the Brahma Samaj sown a hundred years ago. So, in the month of August this year the Brahmos have begun to celebrate the centenary of Brahmoism. As the first Brahmo house of worship, known as the

Adi Brahmo Samaj Mandir, was erected in 1830, some Brahmos hold that the centenary should be celebrated in 1930. So, by way of reconciling both the views, the centenary celebrations will be continued in different ways and in different places till January 1930.

In Calcutta divine services have been conducted, addresses delivered by the followers of different religions, including Brahmos, conferences held for the discussion of problems relating to the community and the country, women's and children's festivals celebrated, and future programmes of work outlined. Brahmo men, women and children attended from many parts of India.

The principal day of the celebration was the 22nd August. That day in the morning Rabindranath Tagore, in spite of illness and weakness, spoke from the *Vedi* of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mandir and read a brief address in Bengali on Ram Mohun Roy, which will be published in *Prabasi*. His English version of this inspiring address is published in this issue of the *Modern Review*.

The faith and ideals of the Brahmo Samaj have a universal appeal. Brahmos can fraternise with men of all creeds, colours, and countries. Ram Mohun Roy bore witness to the faith that was in him both in India and in foreign lands. Keshub Chunder Sen, Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar, Sivanath Sastri and others have done so. They all went westwards. It struck some ardent souls that, in however humble a way, the message of the Brahmo Samaj should be made known in the Far-East. So, two of our brethren, Mr. T. C. Khandwala and Mr. G. Y. Chitnis, have started for Japan, carrying with them the hopes, good wishes and prayers of their fellow-believers. On the return journey they will visit Burma and some other regions.

The Brahmos are an extremely small community, numbering only 6,388 out of 318,942,480, the total population of India, according to the census of 1921. But they are happy and hopeful that many of them have been able to serve their country and humanity in different fields of work—spiritual, moral, social, educational, literary, philosophical, scientific, artistic, political and economic. That they have been able to render this service is due, they think, to the fact that their faith gives them spiritual and social freedom. They believe that they

can be worthy of the name of man only to the extent that their spirits are serene and free, their reason unfettered, and their conscience unlogged.

Many Brahmos of the present generation are deeply discontented with their present condition, achievement and influence. They are humbly praying and hoping for a full measure of new life.

Syed Amir Ali

Though for years Syed Amir Ali had ceased to be in India, he was and continued to be of India. He was a distinguished lawyer and judge. But he will be remembered longer as a scholar and author. His works on Muslim culture and history have served to give their readers new ideas of Islam. He raised and administered many funds, on different occasions, for the relief of foreign Muhammadans. Mahatma Gandhi has written in *Young India* that, throughout the Indian *satyagraha* in South Africa, Syed Amir Ali was on the side of his Indian fellow-countrymen.

A Notable French Publication on India

Madame Andree Karpeles and her husband Mon. Hogman, both ardent lovers of India, have started a series of publications relating to Indian culture, named "Feuilles de l'Inde" or The Leaves of India. The first volume of the series, which we have had the pleasure of receiving recently, is entitled "India and her Soul" (L'Inde et son ame). It is a beautifully printed volume of over 500 pages, presenting for the first time in French an anthology of the messages, thoughts, poems, stories, songs and of the scientific and artistic utterances of modern India. A detailed review of the book will be published in our next number. Here we simply wish to express our hearty congratulations to the organisers of this series, who have shown a rare taste in selecting the pieces and in publishing the first volume decorated with 40 woodcut designs by the talented artist Andree Karpeles. The volumes under preparation are also of capital interest : No. 2 will be the "Fireflies" of Rabiindranath Tagore. No 3. "The Ho Legends." No 4. "The Cradle Songs of Bengal" by Abanindranath Tagore, etc. We wish the publishers all success and recommend the opening volume "India and her Soul," to the general public interested in

contemporary India and her creative artists and thinkers.

The Late Mrs. Villard

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article on Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard, an apostle of peace and freedom, by Srimati Ragini Devi. Her portrait is published here.



Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard

Ram Mohun Roy's Last Illness

The life of Dewan Ramcomul Sen by Peary Chand Mittra (1880) contains extracts from some letters written to the former by Professor H. H. Wilson. In one of these, dated the 21st December, 1833, he wrote :

In a letter I wrote to you I mentioned the death of Ram Mohun Roy. Since then I have seen Mr. Hare's brother, and had some conversation with him on the subject. Ram Mohun died of brain fever; he had grown very stout, and looked full and flushed when I saw him. It was thought he had the liver, and his medical treatment was for that and not for determination to the head. It appears also that mental anxiety contributed to aggravate his complaint. He had become embarrassed for money, and was obliged to borrow of his friends here ; in doing which he must have been exposed to much annoyance, as people in England would as soon part with their lives as their money. Then Mr. Sandford Arnot, whom he had employed as his Secretary, importuned him for the payment of large arrears which he called

arrears of salary, and threatened Ram Mohun, if not paid, to do what he has done since his death, claim as his own writing all that Ram Mohun published in England. In short, Ram Mohun got amongst a low, needy, unprincipled set of people, and found out his mistake, I suspect, when too late, which preyed upon his spirit and injured his health. With all his defects, he was no common man, and his country may be proud of him.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that this extract supports our remark in the *Modern Review* for May, 1926, page 562, footnote, that Sandford Arnot "was not quite reliable."

Dr. Jolly's "Hindu Law and Custom"

The Greater India Society now publishes, for the first time, an authoritative English translation of the German work "Recht und Sitte" published as early as 1896 by Dr. Jolly, the venerable professor of Sanskrit and Indology in the University of Würzburg. Though published more than thirty years ago the book is still the most comprehensive and critical history of Hindu Law. The translator, Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh, a talented Sanskritist and research worker of the Society, has spared no pains to bring the book up-to-date with the valuable suggestions of the learned author, who is too old (over 78) to revise his book in the light of the latest researches into Hindu law. Dr. Jolly in revising the English version of Mr. Ghosh generously praises the translator for his fidelity to the original German text as well as for his careful revision and annotations. The learned German savant writes in his Foreward:

"During the more than thirty years which have elapsed since the publication of 'Recht und Sitte,' the study of Sanskrit law-books has been progressing with rapid strides and it is a matter of regret that my advanced age and ill-health should have prevented me from bringing my work thoroughly up-to-date before it was translated into English. It is hoped, however, that the learned notes added by the translator will to some extent supply this deficiency."

He further wrote to Mr. Ghosh: "The translation is excellent and its value has been greatly enhanced by your very interesting and instructive notes."

Dr. Jolly discusses further in his Foreword the value of a comparative study of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. The latter "though a text-book of polity is replete with useful information on Law and Judicature as well."

The veteran German historian of Hindu Law pays a warm tribute at the end to the Indian scholars and publishers working in the same field.

Important additions to our knowledge of Dharmashastra literature have been supplied by the publication in India of such valuable texts as the *Balakrida* of Visvarupa, the earliest gloss of Yajñavalkya, Apararka's commentary, on the same work and Balambhatta's (not Lakṣmidevi's) commentary on the *Mitaksara*.....The Tagore Law



Prof. Dr. Julius Jolly
Würzburg

lectures, the Sacred Books of the Hindus, Madras Law Journal, Anandasrama texts and other periodical publications abound in valuable informations regarding Sanskrit Law..."

"Hindu Law and Custom" is the *second* in the series of the Greater India Society publications and it may be had either in the office of the Society (91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) or from M. C. Sarkar and Sons, sole agents (90-2A Harrison Road, Calcutta).

The "Public Safety Bill"

We do not know if the Public Safety Bill has been drafted by the Government of India with a view to meet a real emergency or merely as a gesture to convince the present anti-communist cabinet in England of the wide-awakeness of the Government of India to problems and dangers which, whether real or non-existent, would readily rouse the British Conservative fighting spirit. Such a rousing of British passion, even if achieved by giving a false alarm, would doubtless have its desired effect. The British Conservatives would at once realise the urgency of keeping the power of such dutiful and devoted servants intact in India, the land of their financial hopes, however much the Indians themselves may agitate for the curbing of the irresponsible powers of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy.

Let us, however, assume that communist propaganda is rampant in India and a large number of foreign communists are daily moving about all over the country, preaching disaffection and violence against the established order. Assuming such a state of affairs, we do not find any justification for such legislation. If the draft bill is passed into law, Government will be in a position to use the same sort of irresponsible and lawless powers against foreigners as they have been for a long time using against the Indians themselves whenever the latter have protested with any degree of strength against British domination and exploitation of India. In this sense the Public Safety Bill is merely a Foreigners' Edition of Regulation 3 of 1818 and sister regulations, ordinances and "laws." A study of the draft Public Safety Bill clearly shows that, although it is theoretically directed against foreign communists of the violent type, there is no guarantee that it will not be used (abused?) against all foreigners who show or act in sympathy with Indian aspirations, economic

as well as political. It is not necessary to discuss the clauses which describe the persons who are the object of this legislation; for the way in which the proposed law will be used is simply one great loop-hole for abuse. Under this new law if it is passed, the Governor-General in Council may order in writing any such (as described) person to remove himself from British India within such time and in such manner and by such route and means as are specified in the order. The Governor-General in Council or any officers authorised by them will have the right to enforce compliance with the order by "any and every means." They could, for example, command the master of any ship leaving India to carry any undesirable person and his dependants, if any, away from India and land him or them in any port specified by the officials to which the ship may be proceeding. That is to say, an American "Communist" with his invalid wife and infant daughter may be, by order of the Government of India, transported to Oslo or Zanzibar or any other port that may be available. The passage to this far off port will be graciously borne by the Governor-General in Council, *i.e.*, by the people of India. But no one knows how and where the American and his dependants will find necessary funds to maintain themselves in their enforced exile and to ultimately get back to America. Many foreigners stay in India to earn a living and their banishment will often deprive them of their means of livelihood. Who will compensate them for their loss? Who will feed them until they obtain a job, let us say, in Constantinople, or Yokohama or wherever the ship chosen by the Governor-General may carry them? What will they do if the Turkish, Japanese or any other government in whose territories they will be so peremptorily landed, order them to leave their country forthwith? One can easily see that this new piece of proposed legislation is full of possibilities for all foreigners who desire to be persecuted, tyrannised over, tormented and tortured in every moral, physical, economic and political sense. And there is no surety that the foreigner who will be so mauled by the Government of India will be one who deserves such treatment. For

No court shall take cognizance of an offence under this section save upon a complaint made by an order of or under authority from the Governor-General in Council.

AND
No removal order shall be called in question in any Court or by or before any other authority whatsoever and nothing in section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898 shall apply to any person who has been committed to custody under section 6 or any other person in respect of whom a removal order has been made and no suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding whatsoever shall lie against any person in respect of anything in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

God help the foreigner who incurs the displeasure of the Government of India !

We are, needless to say, not communists ; but we believe that communism is a serious economico-political view-point held by many serious minded and intelligent human beings, not all of whom are anti-social bomb-throwers. Even those who are advocates of bomb-throwing may legitimately contend that along with themselves many Imperialists, Monarchists, Democrats, Republicans, Fascists, etc., also believe in throwing bombs (from aeroplanes) for the promotion of their respective causes. So that, communists are not any extraordinary humans for whom any government should make extraordinary laws. If any communist breaks the normal laws of a country, he should be dealt with and punished in the usual legal way, just as a person would be who stabbed another fellow-man for not singing "God save the King" or "*la Marseillaise*". If an Indian or a foreign communist worked within the limits of law for the overthrow or reform of the existing order, we do not see why he should be punished. All causes have a right to be preached and supported by all legal means. Even a good cause has no right to be advocated illegally (as shown above). So that, repressive and extraordinary legislation directed against any social, political and economic view-point can never be justified. We read a lot about communism, its principles and methods, in such standard books as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and in numerous special treatises. The Government of India do not prohibit the circulation of these books in India. Then, why should they adopt oppressive measures against persons who give out the same ideas by word of mouth ? And that in the barbarous way suggested in the proposed Public Safety Bill.

India a Good Ground for Communist Propaganda

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has written a

very pertinent and well-reasoned letter to the *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay, in connection with the spread of communism in India. His standpoint is that to remove communist propaganda from India one must first remove the causes that foster the growth of communistic ideas among the Indian masses. Unless this is done, it is no use attempting its removal by force or in any other way. Says Sir Ibrahim :

The soil has been suitably developed in consequence of the economic backwardness of the people of India cannot, I think, be disputed. When large masses of people have not sufficiency of food and adequate clothing they would readily fall victims to any insidious propaganda which promises plentiful supplies for their daily necessities. With the masses contented with their lot in consequence of having adequate means of livelihood, such propaganda would fall on barren soil. Such is the case especially in India. The people of this country follow in the main two principal religions in the world, namely, Hinduism and Islam, both of which enjoin contentment with the lot in life in which God has chosen to place them. They regard existence on this planet as a mere passing phase and as preparation for the next existence. But for this faith there would have been great trouble much earlier and even now on a much wider scale.

Agitators can and do preach

That want and insufficiency of food and clothing are due not to inadequacy of production but to the high cost of foreign administration and to exploitation of the land in the interests of foreigners. This policy produces insufficiency of food and clothing because the whole production in India is not available for the Indian people. This doctrine has gradually upset the cherished faith of the people of India, and when they are urged to be up and doing in order to retain all that is produced in India for the benefit of the people of India, it tells.

Sir Ibrahim next criticises the Government's revenue policy. He thinks that the sources chosen for raising revenue are provocative to the masses and the total of taxes paid by the people is excessively and unjustly heavy. We are told :

The food grains of the masses are subject to land assessment and the surplus produce has to pay heavily increased railway freights. Their clothing is taxed, their salt, their fuel, their kerosene, their sugar and even the grazing of their cattle are subject to taxation. The District Local Boards, the Municipalities, the Provincial Government and the Imperial Government are levying taxes, both directly and indirectly, which substantially reduce the savings, if any, in agriculture. The petty tyrannies of the village tax-gatherer and the village police are also some of the factors which affect the economic well-being of the masses. Is it any wonder that the masses, situated as they are under these conditions, should fall an easy prey to political or communist agitation ? They have really very little stake in the country. They stand to lose hardly anything, while rosy pictures

drawn for their future prosperity cannot but have an unsettling effect.

The Government is not as keenly alive to the necessity for increasing the national income of India as they are to absorbing a disproportionately large share of it for purposes which mainly do not go to increase either the national income or the capacity of the people to produce more wealth. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola says :

The whole problem, as it appears to me, is a problem of national income. If the national income of a country is insufficient to meet the cost of administration and to supply the minimum requirements of the people, that country must slide downwards to what depths it is difficult to realise.

In all civilized countries it is the primary duty of the administration to devote all attention to increasing the national income of the people, and continuous action by the executive is one of the essential functions which the Government of a civilized country discharges. I wish I could say that the Government of India does this.

Portrait of Rabindranath Tagore

For the portrait of Rabindranath Tagore published in this issue we are indebted to Mr. Pinakin Trivedi of Santiniketan, who photographed him on the first day of the current Bengali year on his coming out of the Mandir after Divine Service.

Romain Rolland on Ram Mohun and the Indian Renaissance

To the special number of the international French review "Europe," consecrated to the centenary of Tolstoy's birth, M. Romain Rolland contributes a paper entitled "The Response of Asia" (*La reponse de l'Asie*). While surveying therein the spiritual correspondence of Tolstoy with China, Japan, Persia and India, Rolland with the vision of a true historian traces the broad outline of the picture of the renaissance of Modern India :

"In 1828 one of the greatest spirits of our time, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, founded the community of the *Brahma Samaj*, uniting all the religions of the world into a religious system based on *faith in one God without a second*. Such an idea was necessarily confined at first within a group of *elite* and gradually ever since roused profound echoes in the souls of the great mystics of Bengal and through them, it is permeating, little by little, the masses of India.

"Europe is as yet far from imagining the prodigious *resurrection of Indian genius* which was announced about the year 1830 and which shone resplendent towards 1900.

That was a flowering season, as sudden as it was brilliant, in all the fields of spiritual activity: in art, in science, in thought. The single name of Rabindranath Tagore, detached from the constellation of that glorious family, has shed its lustre over the entire world.

"Almost simultaneously, we find Vedantism renovated by Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, also called the Indian Luther; and we see Keshub Chunder Sen making the Brahma Samaj an instrument of ardent social reforms and the ground of rapprochement between the Christian religious idea and that of the Orient. Above all, the religious firmament of India was illuminated by two stars of primary grandeur, suddenly appearing—or *reappearing* after centuries—(speaking after the grand Indian style of profound significance)—two miracles of spirit: Ramakrishna (1836—1886), the 'mad man' of God—who embraced in his love all forms of Divinity; and his heroic disciple, Vivekananda (1863—1902), whose torrential energy had reawakened in his exhausted people the God of action, the God of the Gita."

We know that Mon. Rolland, as a genuine and passionate lover of India's spiritual heritage, started his survey of this *renaissance* with "Mahatma Gandhi." We know also that he is devoting these days to the study of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda epoch of this grand spiritual drama, which will soon be made public. We hope and pray that health and leisure may be granted to him to compose another of his *Symphonie Heroique* on Ram Mohun, the *precursor* and prologue of this grand Drama, thereby completing his trilogy on the Resurrection of India. —K. N.

New Light on the Brahmo Sabha of Ram Mohun

Mr. N. C. Ganguly, the author of the latest study on "Ram Mohun Roy", from which a chapter is printed in this issue, has discovered two new facts of capital importance. The Raja with his characteristic universality of outlook invited the members of every denomination then available in Calcutta to participate in his new religious service, Armenians, Jews, Eurasian Christians, all joining in the chorus of adoration and a Mahomedan musician, Ghulam Abbas, supplying the musical accompaniment with his *pakhaj*.

The Raja further is found to have appointed one non-Brahman Biswambhar Das as the Secretary of his Brahma Sabha which was not therefore a close preserve for the Brahmans, as it was supposed to be. —K. N.

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